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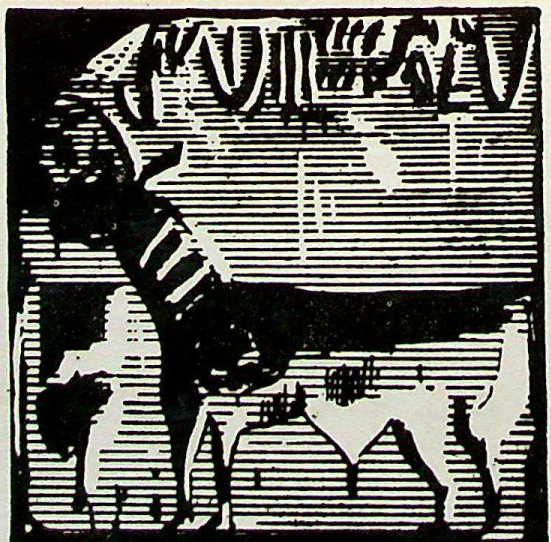

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CONTENTS

PAGE

Śaśāṅka, king of Bengal 1
By Radhagovinda Basak, M.A.

The Eastern Cālukyas 21
By Dr. Dhirendra Chandra Ganguly, M.A., PH.D.

The Jaina School of Astronomy 30
By Dr. Sukumar Ranjan Das, M.A., PH.D.

Some Cosmological Ideas of the Jainas 43
By Amulya Chandra Sen, M.A.

Domicile of the Author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa ... 49
By Rai Bahadur Amar Nath Ray

Studies in the Kauṭilīya 54
By Dr. Narendra Nath Law

Early Viṣṇuism and Nārāyaṇīya Worship 64
By Miss Mrinal Das Gupta, M.A.

The Gupta Era 85
By Dhirendra Nath Mukhopadhyaya

A Buddhist Manuscript at Gilgit 93
By Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.

Miscellany

A Quotation from the Hṛdayadarpaṇa ... 111
By P. K. Gode, M.A.

A Note on a remark of Yuan Chwang 113
By Dr. Rama Shankar Tripathi, M.A., PH.D.

Macedonian Month-name in a Brāhmī Inscription ... 117
By Harit Krishna Deb, M.A.

Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Valley Civilization ... 121
By Dr. Narendra Nath Law

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The English Translation of the Kauṭilīya (a rejoinder) ... 165
By Dr. Narendra Nath Law

The Soma or Sauma Sect of the Śaivas 221
By Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A.

Kāśakṛtsna 224
By Kshitish Chandra Chatterjee, M.A.

Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva ... 228
By A. K. Mrithyunjayan

Select Contents of Oriental Journals 231

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CONTENTS

Mahāparinibbāna-sutta and cullavagga —Louis Finot 241

Tāranātha's History of Buddhism—
U.N. Ghoshal & N. Dutt. 247

Interpolations in the Bhāgavata Purāna—A.N. Raj 253

Kuntaka's conception of Guṇas—Haradutta Sarma 257

Fire-arms in Ancient India—J.C. Ray 267

Twin Gods Aśvinau - V.H. Vader 272

Nature of Mughal Conquest H.N. Sinha 279

Rise of Vijayanagara—B.A. Saletore 294

Earliest Extant Account of Sher Shah—Dasaratha Sarma 302

New Plates of King Bhoja in the Indore Museum Vikram Samvat, 1079—R.G. Ojha 305

Catustava—Prabhubhai Patel 316

Images and Traces of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Chittagong—N.N. Law 332

Buddhist Manuscripts at Gilgit—Nalinaksha Dutt 342

MISCELLANY

Note on Śripati and his Gaṇitatilaka—H.R. Kapadia 351

Successor of Kumārgupta—H.C. Rai Chaudhury 352

Samudra in the Ṛgveda - A.K. Chakravarti 353

Rasa-pradipa and the Hṛdaya-darpana—S.K. Dey 357

Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad—Chintaharan Chakravarti 359

Note on Iron in the Ṛgvedic Age—M.N. Banerjee 364

Note on Gopāla—A.C. Banerjee 367

Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva—
R.C. Majumdar 371

Nātyaśāstra and Bharatamuni—Manomohan Ghose 373

Mahānātaka—T.K. Joseph 375

Istaka and Istya—T.K. Joseph 376

Notes on Aśoka Rescripts —S.N. Mitra 377

Indra and Panini—B.N. Krishnamurti Sarma 380

Note on Candraprajnapti—H.R. Kapadia 381

REVIEWS 383

Bibliographical Notes 422

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Śaśāṅka, king of Bengal†

Sources of Śaśāṅka's History

The sources utilised for gathering the history of Śaśāṅka consist chiefly of:

(1) the accounts of the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chwang) as we find in his Records and Life,

(2) the historical romance, the *Harṣacarita* of king Harṣavardhana's court-poet Bāṇa,

(3) some of the epigraphic and numismatic records of the times, and

(4) the *Bodhisattva-Piṭakāvataṃsaka* or *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*. The 53rd chapter (Paṭalavisara) of this treatise contains interesting and important materials for the ancient history of the various parts of India. The accounts of the kings and people given in this unique treatise of Mantric texts are found recorded, just as we find in the Brahmanic Purāṇas, in a prophetic manner, as if the events described will be happening in future. The names of kings are often mentioned in a very abbreviated form (e.g. Rakārādya and Hakārākhya kings standing for Rājyavardhana and Harṣavardhana respectively) and sometimes

† A Dacca University Public Lecture delivered on February 27, 1931.

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given in synonyms instead of in their originals (e.g., Somākhya for Śaśāṅka).

After the gradual decadence of the glory of the Imperial Gupta dynasty on account of the incessant inroads of the White Hūṇas upon the empire and its complete overthrow by the boastful chief, Yaśodharman of Mālava, towards the middle of the sixth century A.D., the imperial title of a universal sovereign (samrāṭ) was assumed by that aspirant after he had successfully usurped all the Gupta provinces and Hūṇa territories and declared himself as an independent emperor of Northern India. This fact may better be described in the exalting words of his own court-poet (Vāsula), who says that Yaśodharman "enjoyed those countries which were not in the possession of the all-powerful Gupta sovereigns and which the power of the Hūṇa kings who kept many a tributary ruler under subjection could not penetrate" and that "the *sāmantas* (vassals) of the different parts of the land, from the Lauhitya (the Brahmaputra) in the east to the western ocean in the west, and from the Himālayas in the north to the Mahendra mountain in the south did him honour". After the unknown end of this monarch, the empire of Northern India, which he tried to consolidate, again broke up into several parts, each becoming independent with their respective rulers. So the Vardhana family of Sthānīśvara (Thaneswar), the Maukharis of Ayodhyā and Kanauj, the Later Guptas of Magadha and the people of Gauḍa gradually increased their power and prepared themselves for entering into a contest for paramount supremacy in Northern India. The kings of Mālava in the south-west and Kāmarūpa (Assam) in the extreme east were not also sitting idle at the time as mere on-lookers.

Probable time of the rise of Śaśāṅka

All rulers of the Vardhana and Maukhari dynasties before Prabhākaravardhana and Iśānavarman respectively used the title of *mahārāja* implying that they were simply local chiefs (it may or may not be that they owed any allegiance to any liege-lord) and it is these two kings who first used the paramount title of *mahārājādhirāja*. They were making conquests of neighbouring and distant lands and by defeat-

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ing the rulers of those places were trying to bring them under their own vassalage. During the latter half of the sixth century A.D. we find the kings of these various dynasties entering into battle against each other. King Kumāragupta of the Later Gupta family fought a battle against the Maukhari king Iśānavarman whose army he completely routed. A little later his son, Dāmodaragupta, also had to fight against a Maukhari ruler, but he died in the battle-field. Still later, we find another conflict between Mahāsenagupta (son of Dāmodaragupta) of Magadha and a Kāmarūpa king named Susthitavaman (father of Bhāskaravarman) in which the latter sustained a heavy defeat. We also know from the famous Apshad Stone Inscription of Ādityasena that this Mahāsenagupta's son, Mādhavagupta, made an alliance with Harṣavardhana of Thaneswar, probably to fortify himself against his Kāmarūpa and other eastern enemies. It appears very plausible that since the time when Iśānavarman during a clash with Kumāragupta of Magadha had proceeded, as we learn from the Haraha inscription of this king dated 554 A.D., up to North Bengal (Gauḍa proper) and compelled the Gauḍa people to be driven towards the sea wiping off the future hope regarding their landed properties (*"Kṛtvā cāyatimocitāsthalabhuvo Gauḍān samudrāśṛtān"*). The Bengali people had lost their previous hold in North Bengal where the Bengal Kings reigning in the latter part of the sixth century did not wield much political influence. All kingly influence that we also find to have ever been exercised by *Mahārājādhirājas* Dharmāditya, Gopacandra and Samācāradeva was confined mostly in East, South and Central parts of Bengal (i.e. in Samataṭa, Karṇasuvarṇa, etc.) and not so much in North Bengal (Gauḍa or Puṇḍravardhana). It was at a time when a race was thus being run amongst the chief ruling houses in Northern and Eastern Indian provinces for supremacy and aggrandizement of power for achieving paramount suzerainty that Śaśāṅka, mentioned by Yuan Chwang as the king of Karṇasuvarṇa in Eastern India, extended his political jurisdiction by occupying Gauḍa (North Bengal) and later assumed the lofty title of *Gauḍādhipa*. The *Harṣacarita* tells us that during this time (about the last quarter of the sixth century A.D.) Prabhākaravardhana of Thaneswar also made extensive conquests in all directions by fighting successfully against the Hūṇas

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and also the kings of Sindhu, Gurjara, Gāndhāra, Lāṭa and Mālava. Bāṇabhaṭṭa informs us that Prabhākara once entrusted upon his eldest son, the Crown-prince Rājyavardhana, then 18 years old, the leading of an expedition, in the company of his hereditary ministers and loyal feudatories, against the Hūṇas. In describing the setting of the sun and the rising of the moon on that terrible day on which, on arrival at the royal court, Rājya met his younger brother Harṣa, then aged only about 15 years, and learnt of the untimely death of the monarch and their mother, Bāṇa makes an allusion to the gradual rise into eminence of king Śaśāṅka's *maṇḍala* (or circle of political jurisdiction). Nowhere in the whole of this book has Bāṇa made a clear mention of the name of the Gauḍādhipa who was an inveterate enemy of his patron king's family, except in the following sentence where, like the rise of the moon, the rise into political prominence of Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa, has been expressed, though in a veiled manner, by a few words involved in puns. The passage runs thus:—

प्रकटकलङ्कमुदयमानम् ... ... अकाशताकाशे शशाङ्कमण्डलम् (chap. vi).

The rising political circle or sphere of king Saśāṅka was attaining prominence in the political horizon of India, but with its infamy manifested before the world. There is sly hint in many passages of the *Harṣacarita* that the political power of this Bengal king could not be steady as he could not attain greatness because of his mean character and cowardice. Bāṇa emphatically but in a covert way gives the cause of the unsteady nature of Śaśāṅka's royalty which, according to him, was not to last in its perfect fullness for more than two days, like the beauty of the Śaśāṅka (moon) of the sky. He says:—

" कासरस्य तु शशिन इव हरिणहृदयस्य पाण्डरपृष्ठस्य कुतो द्विरात्रमपि निश्चला लक्ष्मीः "

(chap. vi).

So Śaśāṅka is here described as possessing as timid a heart as that of a deer and in also being insincere, though outwardly honest and pure.

Family of Śaśāṅka

Who was this Gauḍādhipa Śaśāṅka is a puzzling question to historians. Yuan Chwang has named the king of Karṇasuvarṇa (described

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as "recent") as Śaśāṅka. A commentator of the *Harṣacarita* has also named the Gauḍādhipa by the same name but the late Dr. Bühler mentioned (in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 1, p. 70) that in one manuscript of the *Harṣacarita* the name of the Gauḍa king is stated as Narendragupta. Fitz-Edward Hall expressed his opinion that the king was a descendant of the Gupta family (Imperial, or of the Later Guptas of Magadha not ofcourse mentioned). One of the three gold coins (the second one, the first being undoubtedly of Śaśāṅka) discovered in 1852 along with several others belonging to some of the Imperial Gupta rulers in a village in the district of Jessore, bears the legend Narendravinata inscribed on its reverse side. According to Allan, this coin belongs to Śaśāṅka. Mr. N. K. Bhattasali reads on the obverse of this coin the name, Samācāradeva, on the strength of which as well as the bull-emblem used therein, he feels inclined to connect Śaśāṅka with the family of Samācāradeva of East Bengal. The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee, however, tried to prove with somewhat greater force of argument based on numismatic evidence that Śaśāṅka's second name was Narendragupta and he thought that he was probably either a son or nephew (brother's son) of king Mahāsenagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha. Dr. R. K. Mukherjee went a step further and accounted for Śaśāṅka's combination against Rājya with the king of Mālava by saying that he had blood-relationship with the latter, both being of the Gupta lineage. The late Mr. Banerjee also referred to the opinion of some numismatist who held that the inscription on the alleged Śaśāṅka coins reads *Narendrāditya* and he inferred, with some degree of probability, that Śaśāṅka, like the former Imperial Gupta rulers, enjoyed a second name with an *āditya* title. I have in this connection to offer a suggestion as to whether the compound word "*durṇarendrābhibhavaroṣitaḥ*" meaning "enraged by the humiliation offered by that wicked Narendra", used by Bāṇa as an adjective to Harṣavardhana, refers under the garb of a pun to Śaśāṅka. The allusion involved in the epithet had been used by the poet when he described Harṣa as having flown into terrific rage on hearing of the treacherous murder of his elder brother, Rājyavardhana, by the Gauḍ king. He compares Harṣa with a snake (*āśīviṣaḥ*) who is also "*durṇarendrābhibhavaroṣitaḥ*" i.e. whose anger has been excited

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by the repulse of a snake charmer *Narendra*. In case of Harṣa the word Narendra may mean either simply a 'king' or 'a person of that name', but it refers in either case to King Śaśāṅka. It will not be out of place here if I try to connect Śaśāṅka with another king of Karṇasuvarṇa, named Jayanāga, one of whose copper-plate inscriptions was published by Dr. Barnet in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vol. xxvii, p. 60 ff.). In that epigraph written in characters of the well-formed upright Gupta type prevailing in the latter half of the sixth century A.D. the king is described as possessing the epithets *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramabhāgavata*. The seal of this plate contains in an effaced condition the standing figure of Lakṣmī or Śrī with two elephants making *Kumbhābhiṣeka*. As Dr. Barnett remarks, we know nothing of any king of the name of Jayanāga from other sources. But in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* we find a clear mention not only of a Gauḍa king of the name of Jayanāga ruling at such a time but also the name of a city called Udumbara (*māgadhāṃ janapadāṃ prāpya pure udumbarāhvaye*) probably wrongly located here in Magadha (some portion of which might have also been included in the Gauḍa kingdom) which is mentioned in this copper-plate grant as being the name of *Viṣaya* of which the administrator was Jayanāga's Sāmanta called Nārāyaṇabhadra. A verse in this book runs thus:—

नागराजसमाह्वयो गौड़राजा भविष्यति।
अन्ते तस्य नृपे तिष्ठं जयाद्यावर्णतद्विशौ॥

The author, as it appears from the loose Sanskrit of the book, means to declare in the usual prophetic strain that there will become a Gauḍa king whose name will commence with the syllables "Jaya" and end in "Nāga". It is clear then that Jayanāga who is referred to in the above inscription as staying in Karṇasuvarṇa is described as a Gauḍa king in this Buddhist treatise, just as Śaśāṅka is mentioned by the Chinese traveller as king of Karṇasuvarṇa, but at the same time described both by Bāṇa and the author of this Buddhist work as king of Gauḍa. We may now plausibly connect the coins (as has been suggested to Dr. Barnett by Mr. Allan) which resemble to a very great extent those of Śaśāṅka but which bear the abbreviated name Jaya on the obverse and a seated Lakṣmī with an elephant sprinkling water on her on the

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reverse, as belonging to king Jayanāga of this inscription and the Buddhist work. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* makes Jayanāga almost a successor of Śaśāṅka, but in our opinion he and his son (stated to have reigned only for a few months only) *preceded* Śaśāṅka as kings of Karṇasuvarṇa at a time when Prabhākaravardhana or his father Ādityavardhana was ruling as a king of Thaneswar. The Maukhari king Īśānavarman probably drove the Gauḍa people towards the sea-side during Jayanāga's reign. It cannot be stated definitely that Śaśāṅka could not have any blood-relationship with this Jayanāga of Bengal and used only an *āditya* title, *viz.*, *Narendrāditya* in the manner of the ancient Imperial Gupta monarchs. But this can only be more positively proved to be a historical fact by further discoveries, for which we must have to wait. Śaśāṅka might have been a Gupta or a Nāga, or neither of the two.

Extent of his domain

Let us now examine as to how far Śaśāṅka succeeded in extending the sphere of his political influence. Though he had his first administrative centre established in Karṇasuvarṇa (Rāṅgāmāṭī near Berhampur) he gradually extended his power by occupation of Gauḍa (or Puṇḍravardhana) in the North, and some places in South Bihar e.g. Gaya, Rohitāśvagiri (or Rhotas hill) even up to Benares in the West, and the whole country, in the South, up to Koṅgoda province situated in the modern Ganjam district, South of Orissa. But we must remember that at first Śaśāṅka was a feudal chief or a local independent ruler, having had the use of the title *Mahāsāmanta* only (used by smaller kings in place of the title *Mahārāja*) as is evidenced by the inscription cut in reverse found at the hill-fort of Rhotasgaḍh in the Shahabad district. It is a stone-mould or matrix for casting copper-seals in relief meant to be attached to copper-plate charters. It bears the inscription *Śrī mahāsāmanta Śaśāṅkadevasya*, the letters belonging to the 6th-7th century A.D. We are also told by the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* that the heroic king Soma (i.e. Śaśāṅka) will rule over the Gangetic valley up to Benares. This extension of his dominion and influence must have taken place before he came into conflict with king Harṣa. Within about a decade from this conflict, that is, in Gupta era 300, i.e., in 619

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A.D. we find Śaśāṅka a powerful monarch enjoying an imperial rank having feudal rulers acknowledging his suzerain authority. For, we learn from the Ganjam copper-plate of *Mahārāja-mahāsāmanta* Mādhavarāja II of the Śīlodbhavakula granting a village to a Brāhmaṇa on the occasion of a solar eclipse in 619 A.D. (the charter having been issued from the seat of the provincial government in Koṅgoda on the river Sālimā) that he was the provincial ruler in that region under the suzerainty of *Mahārājādhirāja* Śaśāṅka, who was then ruling "on the earth encircled by the girdle of waves of the four oceans and containing islands, towns and ports".[1]

So we see that Śaśāṅka was wielding great power as Gauḍādhipa with the epithet Mahārājādhirāja, at least, up to the year 619 A.D.

Whether and how was Rājyavardhana murdered?

In his glorious days Prabhākaravardhana of Thaneswar was able to keep the king of Mālava (probably Devagupta and not Śīlāditya of West Mālava as suggested by Dr. R. K. Mukherjee) in check, and on one occassion compelled him to give his two sons, Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta as companions of Rājya and Harṣa, their other intimate companion being their maternal uncle's son, Bhaṇḍi. Owing to Prabhākara's great political power, the Maukharis remained somewhat in submission to him for, we find him giving his daughter Rājyaśrī, in marriage with Avantivarman's son, king Grahavarman, then ruling in Kuśasthala or Kānyakubja (Kanauj). But it appears that the Mālava king was not very obliging to Prabhākara and that he always harboured a spirit of rebellion. When Prabhākara died of fever and the news reached the ears of Śaśāṅka, he became anxious to enter into an alliance with the king of Mālava for overthrowing the kingdom of Thanesvar and become, if possible, the emperor of Uttarāpatha (Northern India). As soon as the news[2] of Prabhākara's death was spread, the Mālava king

1 चतुस्त्यधिसलिल-वीचीमेखलानिलीनायां सद्वीप-नगर-पत्तनवत्यां वसुन्धरायां गौसाब्दं वर्षशतत्रये वर्त्तमाने महाराजाधिराज-श्रीशशाङ्कराजे शासति—*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. vi.

2 यस्मिन्नहनि अवनिपतिरुपरत इत्यभूद्वार्त्ता तस्मिन्नेव देवो ग्रहवर्म्मा दुरात्मना मालवराजेन जीवलोकमात्मनः सकृतेन सह त्याजितः। भर्तृदारिकाऽपि राज्यश्रीः कालायसनिगड़घुम्बित-चरणा चौराङ्गनाइव संयता कान्यकुब्जे कारायां निक्षिप्ता—हर्षचरित, chap. vi.

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proceeded towards Kanauj and killed its king Grahavarman and threw his wife, Rājyaśrī into dungeon, with iron fetters on her feet like a brigand's wife? Bāṇa further states that it is said that the Mālava king was planning an attack on Thanesvar also, for he thought that Prabhākara's demise had left the army of Thanesvar without a leader. On hearing of the disaster befalling his sister Rājyavardhana placed Harṣa in charge of the administration of the kingdom and himself started, taking only Bhaṇḍi with him and a troop of ten thousand cavalry to give battle to the Mālava king. Long after, a cavalry officer delivered to Harṣa the message of the murder of his brother by the king of Gauḍa, who was no other than our Śaśāṅka.[3]

Murder of Rājyavardhana

This messenger told Harṣa that his brother (Rājyavardhana) subdued easily the army of the Mālava king and that his trust was increased by a show of false civilities. Then unarmed he approached his enemy, alone, but was slain by the king of Gauḍa in his own residence (camp). We shall now examine whether Śaśāṅka did really assassinate Rājyavardhana 'treacherously'. Bāṇa has very cleverly evaded giving a clear account of the reason for Rājya's acceptance of an invitation for going to the camp of such a powerful adversary as Śaśāṅka. It has been stated before that the Bengal king combined with the Mālava king after Prabhākara's death, and the first fruit of this political alliance was the death of Grahavarman caused by the Mālava king. It is more likely that the alliance of these two kings (of Gauḍa and Mālava) took place after the death of Grahavarman. After this, Rājya and Bhaṇḍi marched against the Mālava king, defeating and capturing the latter. It is not clear from Bāṇa's description whether the Mālava king was killed by them in action. On the presumption that the Mālava king's alliance with Śaśāṅka took place after the death of Grahavarman, it may be suggested that the Bengal king, after such an alliance, left Bengal and laid a seize upon the Maukhari capital, Kanauj, and in that

3 तस्माच्च हेलानिर्ज्जितमालवानीकमपि गौड़ाधिपेन मिथ्योपचारोपचितविश्वासं मुक्तशस्त्रमेकाकिनं विश्रब्धं स्वभवन एव भ्रातरं व्यापादितमश्रौषीत्—हर्षचरित, chap. vi.

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connection committed the most foul murder of Grahavarman's brother-in-law, king Rājyavardhana, who had only recently succeeded to the throne of Thanesvar and was thinking of the prospects of annexing more dominions to his already extensive hereditary kingdom. It seems that this murder of Rājya took place in or near Kanauj. Bāṇa says that a raid was made by the Gauḍa king and his followers on Kuśasthala or Kanauj. At this time Rājyaśrī, who had been kept enchained in the jail of her own capital by the Mālava king, was rescued by a Gupta nobleman who seems to have been a kind-hearted person although a partisan of the Mālava or the Gauḍa king. It may be that this Gupta *kulaputra* was a friend of the Maukhari family. After her release Rājyaśrī heard of her brother's murder and then fled away towards the Vindhya forests. The Mālava king occupied the town of Kanauj after killing Grahavarman and kept close vigilance on the ex-queen, but he was made to leave the city by the arms of Rājya and Bhaṇḍi. In the meantime, Śaśāṅka proceeded towards Kanauj either to join the Mālava king on the way, or to wrest the kingdom from the hands of Rājya who was now in charge of his sister's kingdom. We have remarked before that Bāṇabhaṭṭa did not clearly state as to how Rājya accepted the invitation of Śaśāṅka for coming over to his camp. It is quite clear from Bāṇa's record that Bhaṇḍi was not with Rājya when the latter was invited by Śaśāṅka. At that time Bhaṇḍi was sent back by Rājya[4] to Thanesvar with all the booty including the whole force and royal equipage of the Mālava king. Bhaṇḍi on being asked by Harṣa[5] related later on that he had only heard from the people that Rājyaśrī being res-

4 पश्यतु देवः श्रीराज्यवर्द्धनभुजबलार्जितं साधनं सपरिवर्हं मालवराजस्य—हर्षचरित, chap. vii.

5 समतिक्रान्ते च कियत्यपि काले भ्रातृमरणवृत्तान्तमप्राक्षीत्। अथाकथयच्च यथावृत्तं भण्डिः। अथ नरपतिः तमुवाच—"राज्यश्रीर्व्यतिकरः कः।" स पुनरवादीत् "देवभूयं गते देवे राज्यवर्द्धने गुप्तनाम्ना च गृहीते कुशस्थले देवी राज्यश्रीः परिभ्रश्य बन्धनात् विन्ध्याटवीं सपरिवारा प्रविष्टा इति लोकतो वार्त्तामश्रौषम्। अन्वेष्टारस्तु तां प्रति प्रभूताः प्रहिता जना नाद्यापि निवर्त्तन्ते" इति। तच्चाकर्ण्य भूपतिरब्रवीत्—"किमन्यैः अनुपदिभिः, यत्र सा तत्र परित्यक्तान्यकृत्यः स्वयमहं यास्यामि। भवानपि कटकमादाय प्रवर्त्ततां गौडाभिमुखं" इत्युक्त्वा च उत्थाय स्नानभुवमगात्।"—हर्षचरित, chap. vii.

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cued fled towards the Vindhya forest. Elsewhere also[6] it is narrated that during the raid by the Gauḍa king either on Kanauj or on a kingdom near about it, she was rescued by a nobleman named Gupta. We agree with Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda in the view that Rājya at first defeated the Mālava king and then sent back his cousin Bhaṇḍi to Thanesvar, and then marched towards Kanauj to effect release of his sister. But we cannot accept the Rai Bahadur's views, which have been supported by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, that Rājyavardhana was possibly "defeated in a fair fight" and subseqently killed by Śaśāṅka while in a captive state. Had it been a case of death in fair fight, Harṣa probably would not have at this tender age started on an expensive and elaborate expedition against Śaśāṅka. He undoubtedly obtained ready help from his vassals and other independent rulers because of his appeal to them in the name of the treachery committed by the Bengal king. There was no record of any fight fought between Rājya and Śaśāṅka and it may be presumed that after Mālava king's defeat by the enormous army of Rājya, Śaśāṅka did not consider it expedient even to enter into an open fight. Both these writers are reluctant to hold the view that there was at all any treachery played by Śaśāṅka in killing Rājyavardhana, inspite of the clear accounts of both Bāṇa and Yuan Chwang. Dr. Majumdar remarks that we should "revise the opinion about Śaśāṅka as handed down by the historians". The spirit of Bāṇa's work is to give vent to his patron king Harṣa's as well as his own wrath against Śaśāṅka for his foul action. It is only on account of his treachery that Bāṇa gives him the contemptuous epithets like *Gauḍādhama* and *Gauḍabhujaṅga*. Mr. Chanda and Dr. Majumdar think that it was not possible for Rājya to have entered his enemy's camp with his weapons laid aside (*muktaśastra*). Let us in this connection refer to a very significant passage in the *Harṣacarita* in which Harṣa declares that none but that Gauḍa king, who was a designer of black courses (*kṛṣṇavartma-*

6 भुक्तवांश्च बन्धनात् प्रभृति विस्तरतः स्वसुः कान्यकुब्जात् गौड़संभ्रमे गुप्तिनो गुप्तनाम्ना कुलपुत्रेण निष्कासनं, निर्गतायाश्च राज्यवर्द्धनमरणश्रवणं, श्रुत्वा च आहारनिराकरणं, अनाहारपरिहतायाश्च विन्ध्याटवीपर्य्यटनखेदं, जातनिर्व्वेदायाः पावकप्रवेशोपक्रमणं यावत् सर्व्वमश्रौषीत् व्यतिकरं परिजनतः – हर्षचरित, chap. vii.

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prasūtiḥ) could lay low such a king with past records of undissembling heroism to his credit, when he was unarmed. The passage runs thus:—

गौडाधिपमपहाय कः तादृशं महापुरुषं तत्क्षणएव निर्व्याजभुजनिर्जितसमस्तराजकं मुक्तशस्त्रं कलसयोनिरिव कृष्णवर्त्मप्रसूतिः ईदृशेन सर्व्वलोकविगर्हितेन मृत्युना शमयेदार्य्यम्—हर्षचरित, chap. vi.

Was it a treacherous murder by Saśāṅka?

From the statements of Bāṇa we find that neither Harṣa nor Bhaṇḍi knew clearly about the allurement offered by Saśāṅka to Rājya. Bāṇa in his book collects a series of historical and other traditional instances of political murders brought about by enemies by taking advantage of the foolishness or inadvertence on the part of murdered kings. These illustrations were placed before king Harṣa through one of his trusted and able officers named Skandagupta, for his careful consideration on the eve of his preparation for an expedition against Saśāṅka. He was specially requested "to dismiss universal confidingness", so agreeable to the habits of the people of Thanesvar and springing from their innate frankness of spirit.

तदियं आत्मदेशाचारोचिता स्वभावसरलहृदयजा त्यज्यतां सर्व्वविश्वासिता—हर्षचरित, ch. vi

He cites these cases as "disasters due to carelessness" and lays special stress upon "the blunders of heedless men on account of women". He would not have invited the pointed attention of Harṣa to them unless it was a fact that Bāṇa was conscious of the affair that Rājya's own death must have been due to a cause which involved his heedless action concerning some woman? An old commentator of the *Harṣacarita* (Śaṅkara by name) while explaining the two introductory verses of the sixth chapter names the murderer of Rājya as Saśāṅka who, he says, enticed the Vardhana king through a spy by the offer of his daughter's hand. He adds that while the unlucky king with his retinue was participating in a dinner[7] in his enemy's camp, he was liked by the Gauḍa

7 The commentator says—"**अनेनोच्छ्वासार्थः संगृहीतः। तथाहि कृतोऽन्तो विनाशो येन स शशाङ्कनामा गौडाधिपतिः। शूराणां राज्यवर्द्धनानुचराणां तत्सहितानां संग्रहमकरोत्। .....तथाहि तेन शशाङ्केन विश्वासार्थं दूतमुखेन कन्याप्रदानमुक्ता प्रलोभितो राज्यवर्द्धनः स्वगेहे सानुचरो भुञ्जमान एव छद्मना व्यापादितः।**"

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king in disguise. The famous verse in Harṣa's own royal grants (the Banskhera and Madhuvana copper-plates issued in the 20th regnal year i.e. in 626 A.D.) states that Rājyavardhana after having defeated his enemies and made Devagupta and others captive gave up his own life in his enemy's camp where he went to keep his word of honour. It is quite plausible that during a period of truce the offer of the hand of his daughter to Rājyavardhana was made by Śaśāṅka and lest Rājyavardhana's heedless compliance with such an invitation sent through a messenger should be considered as a reflection on the reputation of the king, Bāṇa refrained from giving full details of this incident in his book. But the poet did not fail to remind Harṣa that his elder brother acted foolishly in placing confidence on the false courtesies of Śaśāṅka. The Chinese traveller, Yuan Chwang, has also narrated that Rājyavardhana "soon after his accession was treacherously murdered by Śaśāṅka, the wicked king of Karṇasuvarṇa in East India, a persecutor of Buddhism". So there ought not to remain any doubt about Bāṇa's statement that Śaśāṅka, inspite of his greatness as a conqueror, adopted a very vile and treacherous method of killing Rājyavardhana We do not also feel inclined to support the view of Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda that the Gupta nobleman's rescue of Rājyaśrī from the prison was made at the instance of Śaśāṅka who, in his opinion, thereby showed a noble instinct of heart, so hard to expect during war time. We rather think that the Gupta nobleman belonged to a family which was friendly to the house of the Maukharis or the Vardhanas or to both. Even supposing he was a partisan of Śaśāṅka, he did this noble deed at his own instance and not at his king's bidding.

Harṣa's expedition against Śaśāṅka

Śaśāṅka could not succeed to the throne of Thanesvar and established his universal suzerainty in Kanauj. He had to remain very much afraid of an attack of his eastern kingdom by Harṣa, who on pressing requests from the state-ministers accepted the kingship after Rājya's death. Bent on avenging his brother's murder he started with a vast army against Śaśāṅka. He issued a proclamation through his Minister of Peace and War (*mahāsandhivigrahādhikṛta*) to all known kings that

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they should either surrender or give him battle. When the first day's march was over, Harṣa received an emissary from the court of Bhāskaravarman, king of Prāgjyotiṣa (or Kāmarūpa = Assam) who wanted to enter into an alliance with him, and sent him innumerable presents. Harṣa accepted this offer of friendship, and sent back the messenger with many presents in return. It was an alliance for their mutual good as they were neighbouring adversaries of their common enemy Saśāṅka of Bengal. After Harṣa had marched for a few days, he met Bhaṇḍi who was returning with the booty obtained in his war against the Mālava king, and heard from him every thing about his brother's murder and Rājyaśrī's escape. The king requested Bhaṇḍi to proceed against the king of Bengal and himself entered into the Vindhya forests in search of his lost sister, whom he at last succeeded in discovering there. Harṣa rejoined his camp on the banks of the Ganges. Bāṇa abruptly closes his narrative here. From his account it is clear that Śaśāṅka withdrew towards his kingdom without any success at Kanauj, which Harṣa occupied and from where he administered the empire in company of his sister. Very probably, Harṣa removed his own capital from Thanesvar to Kanauj after his return from the first expedition against Śaśāṅka.

Results of the campaign

Now let us see what were the results of the elaborate military expedition of Harṣa against Gauḍa. Mr. R. D. Banerjee was of opinion that Bhāskaravarman joined Harṣa during the latter's march, because he was himself hostile to the king of Bengal, Śaśāṅka. From the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, we find that in this great campaign against king Śaśāṅka, Harṣa proceeded towards East India and reached the town of Puṇḍra and caused a great havoc amongst the Bengali people. Then this Buddhist treatise sums up the results of this war in the following lines:—

पराजयामास सोमाख्यं दुष्टकर्म्मानुचारिणम्।
ततो निषिद्धः सोमाख्यो स्वदेशेनावतिष्ठतः॥
निवर्त्तयामास हकाराख्यः म्लेच्छराज्येमपूजितः।
तुष्टकर्म्मा हकाराख्यो नृपः श्रेयसा चार्थधर्म्मिणः॥
स्वदेशेनैव प्रयातः यथेष्टगतिनापि वा।

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The author here means to say that Harṣa defeated Soma (Śaśāṅka), the follower of wicked deeds who was forced to remain confined within his own kingdom and prevented him from moving further towards the west; and Harṣa himself, not being honoured with welcome in these eastern frontier countries returned leisurely to his own kingdom with the satisfaction that he had achieved victory. Dr. V. Smith's inference that Śaśāṅka "escaped with little loss" and that "his kingdom became subject to Harṣa at a later date" appears to be correct. Hence, there is no doubt that as the result of the first campaign Harṣa could not establish political supremacy over Gauḍa and Karṇasuvarṇa. It was, probably, after Śaśāṅka's death (which must have taken place sometime between 619 A.D. and 637 A.D.) Yuan Chwang travelled over Magadha and Karṇasuvarṇa. Hence, he referred to Śaśāṅka as a 'recent' king. Śaśāṅka enjoyed overlordship in eastern provinces up to the Ganjam district in the south-east, because in Kongoḍa the Mahāsāmanta Mādhavavarman was only a feudatory of his in 619 A.D.

Karṇasuvarṇa occupied by Bhāskaravarman of Assam

That Karṇasuvarṇa was occupied by King Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, can be explained from the fact that the Assam king issued his royal charter (copper-plate grants discovered in Nidhanpur, Sylhet) from his victorious camp in Karṇasuvarṇa. We have shown elsewhere (*Dacca Review*, 1913) that "Harṣa, after taking possession of the kingdom of his brother's murderer from his own hands at some later date (during Śaśāṅka's life-time) or (after Śaśāṅka's death) from those of his unknown successor, might have made it over to Bhāskaravarman". If Harṣa had taken possession of Karṇasuvarṇa during Śaśāṅka's life-time, he must have done so by his second campaign with his ally Bhāskaravarman. Later on Śaśāṅka lost his overlordship in Kongoda, for the Chinese pilgrim says that Harṣa led an expedition in 643 A.D. against this country and succeeded in extending his own dominion up to that limit. Śaśāṅka's defeat is also indicated by the gold coins which were debased by a large mixture of silver. So with his lofty aspirations Śaśāṅka, achieved, in the beginning of his career, some success in establishing an extensive Gauḍa dominion, which lasted

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only for 17 years and a few months and days (according to the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*). He passed away leaving probably no successor, his own kingdom of Karṇasuvarṇa slipping into the hands of the neighbouring king of Assam. The latter's family could not retain it long, for we know how Bengal and Magadha gradually grew into a great empire under the Pāla kings about a century later. From Yuan Chwang's accounts we find that our modern Bengal Presidency was divided into a number of smaller states, *viz.*, Kājaṅgala, Puṇḍravardhan, Samataṭa, Tāmralipti and Karṇasuvarṇa. The pilgrim does not mention the name of any king of these states, probably because all of them, except Karṇasuvarṇa, which was subject to the king of Assam, formed parts of the empire of Harṣavardhana.

Śaśāṅka, a persecutor of Buddhism

Let us now proceed to examine another allegation against the character of Śaśāṅka, *viz.*, that he was a persecutor of Buddhism. From the bull-emblem on his coins and Yuan Chwang's statements, it is clear that this Bengal king was a devotee of Śiva, as also was his Mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* calls him *dvijāhvayaḥ*, i.e. Brāhmaṇic, meaning thereby that he was a follower of the Brāhmaṇic faith. Śaśāṅka had the ill repute of being a hater of Buddhism, almost bent on a total destruction of that faith in the places, where he went for victory. The Chinese traveller has said in one place of his accounts that king Harṣa got an oracle, as it were, from the image of a Bodhisattva to the effect that he should accept the sovereignty and "then raise Buddhism from the ruin into which it had been brought by the king of Karṇasuvarṇa". In another place he says that "at Kuśinagara he felt distressed because by Śaśāṅka's extermination of Buddhism, the groups of brethren were all broken up." It is also narrated by the pilgrim that "in *recent* times king Śaśāṅka having tried in vain to efface the foot-prints caused the stone to be thrown into the Ganges". This refers to the stone with Buddha's foot-prints at Pāṭaliputra.

The pilgrim further relates that at Bodh-Gayā "in *recent* times

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Śaśāṅka, the enemy and oppressor of Buddhism, cut down the Bodhi tree, destroyed its roots down to the water, and burnt what remained", and that the king had "the image (of Buddha) removed and replaced by one of Śiva". Because the pilgrim was himself a Buddhist, Messrs. Chanda and Banerjee could not fully rely on his statements. Mr. Chanda has also suggested that at the root of Śaśāṅka's ill-feeling towards the Buddhists was probably the fact that the Buddhists of these places in Magadha and elsewhere entered into some conspiracy with Harṣavardhana against him and he, therefore, wanted to punish them by such oppressive persecution. Otherwise, it is not quite possible to explain such persecution in the seventh century when followers of Brāhmaṇism, Buddhism and Jainism lived side by side in perfect peace and amity almost in all places in eastern India. The Chinese traveller refers to the existence of Buddhist monasteries side by side with Deva temples not only in Magadha and other parts of Bengal but also in Karṇasuvarṇa, the capital of Śaśāṅka. The *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*[8] also states in a prophetic style: "The wicked person, who will be a heroic king in countries on the banks of the Ganges excepting Benares, will destroy beautiful images of the great teacher (Buddha). Relying on the heretics he will also cause to be burnt many a holy trace (or relic). Then this irascible, greedy, self- sufficient and ill-esteemed man will break down all monasteries, gardens and shrines and also the dwellings of the Nirgranthas on earth, and thus put an obstacle to their religious profession". We think that the author of this

8 "सोनाख्योपि ततो राजा एकवीरो भविष्यति।
गङ्गातीरपर्य्यन्तं वाराणस्यामतः परम्॥
नाशयिष्यति दुर्मेधः शास्तुर्विम्बां मनोरमाम्।
जिनैस्तु कथितं पूर्व्वं धर्म्मसेतुमनल्पकम्॥
दाहापयति दुर्मेधः तीर्थिकस्य वचे रतः।
ततोऽसौ क्रुद्धलुब्धस्तु मिथ्यामानी ह्यसंमतः॥
विहारारामचैत्यांश्च निर्ग्रन्थां वसथां भुवि।
भेत्स्यते च तदा सर्व्वां वृत्तिरोधमकारक॥"

Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, p. 634.

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Buddhist treatise, written approximately in the 12th century A.D., could not have cherished any special ill-feeling against Śaśāṅka as has been ascribed by some scholars to Yuan Chwang and Bāṇabhaṭṭa. In our opinion, it will not be justifiable to exculpate Śaśāṅka from his cruel actions, although we may admire his great heroism, but his impolitic and impious actions, no persons much less the historians should support.

The social and economic condition

We shall now examine briefly the general social and economic condition of the Bengal people at the time of Śaśāṅka. The people of Bengal and other parts of eastern India lived both in villages and large towns. There were in the towns, large structures made of stone and brick with artistic ornamentations, rendered more beautiful by the images of gods, both Buddhistic and Brāhmaṇic, carved on them. In Bengal, there were both Buddhist monasteries and Brāhmaṇic Deva temples. The Buddhists in Bengal belonged to both the Hīnayāna (Sāmmitīya) and the Mahāyāna schools.

The north-western portion of Bengal, then known as Kajaṅgala (Rajmahal side) was low and moist, yielding good crops. The climate was warm. The people were straightforward and esteemed learning.

North Bengal (Puṇḍravardhana) had a flourishing population with "tanks, hospices and flowery groves". Jack-fruits were available in plenty. Besides the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas there lived in north Bengal many Digambara Nirgranthas (Jainas).[2] Belief in oracles was current.

Further east in Assam (Kāmarūpa) the same climatic condition prevailed and the people were honest, small in stature and black-looking. Their speech differed a little from that of Mid-India. Their disposition was violent, but they were persevering students and were believers only in Devas and not in Buddhism. There was not one Buddhist monastery in Assam; and those who were devoted to Buddhism had to perform their acts of devotion in secret. Even the

9 This is testified by some Jain relics discovered in North Bengal and deposited in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

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reigning king Bhāskaravarman is described by the Chinese traveller as "a Brahmin by caste", hinting thereby that he was also a believer in Brāhmaṇism. Elephants of war were available in the south-west of Assam. On the western side of Karṇasuvarṇa also, i.e., in the woods of Campā (modern Bhagalpur) large wild elephants were found. Kongoḍa in south Orissa, "produced large dark-coloured elephants which were capable of long journeys".

East Bengal then called Samataṭa situated on the sea-side contained adherents of the Sthavira school of Buddhist monks and Digambara Nirgranthas and also followers of Devas. A place of trading and commercial importance of those days was the port-town of Tāmralipti (modern Tamluk) which stood on a bay. "Rare valuables" were collected here and as it was a trade-centre people of this place were generally prosperous. Farming in this part of Bengal was quite good, and fruits and flowers abounded; the climate was hot and the people were rude but courageous. As regards Śaśāṅka's own centre of administration in central Bengal, viz., the country of Karṇasuvarṇa, it is described as being "well-inhabited", full of rich people and having a temperate climate. The people were men "of good character" and "patrons of learning." The adherents of Buddhism belonged to the Sāmmitīya school; there were followers of various other religions with Deva temples in large number.

In three of the Buddhist monasteries of this part of Bengal, milk-products were not taken as food in accordance with the teaching of Devadatta. By the side of the capital city was the Lo-to-mo-ti (Raktamṛttikā-Rājagāmāṭī) monastery which was "a magnificent and famous establishment, the resort of illustrious brethren".

The hilly country of Kongoḍa is described by the Chinese traveller as "bordering on a bay of the sea, with regular harvests and having a hot climate". The people here, are described as "tall and valorous and of a black complexion, having some sense of propriety and not very deceitful". There were in this country many towns, in which "there was a gallant army which kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so there was no powerful enemy". "As the country was on the sea-side

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it contained many rare precious commodities" and the currency was "*cowries* and pearls". From this general survey we can say that the Bengali people and the neighbouring inhabitants of Assam and Orissa had a high standard of culture and civilisation in the seventh century A.D.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that when the Kāmarūpa rulers in the east, the Magadha kings in the middle and the Maukhari chiefs in the near west were measuring one another's military strength, there arose in the political firmament of Bengal a moon-like king (named Śaśāṅka) with some spot in his character, who aspired to outshine all of them, but who was ultimately forced to fade away in the glittering light of the sun-like Harṣavardhana who alone succeeded in establishing a very extensive North Indian empire, which unfortunately could not last longer than his own life, just as it was the case with Yaśodharman of Mālava a century before him.

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK

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The Eastern Cālukyas

I

It is now generally admitted that the names Cālukya and Caulukya are synonymous and that the Cālukyas are a branch of the Gurjaras. Mr. J. Campbell[1] quotes a number of evidence from the traditions preserved by the Rajput bards in order to support the Gurjara origin of the Caulukyas. Dr. Bhandarkar, also a supporter of this theory, makes the following observations:[2] "It was evidently in the time of the Caulukya sovereigns that Gujarat came to be called after Gurjaras. The Dohad inscription[3] of the Caulukya Jayasiṃha, dated A.D. 1140, narrates that the king was a ruler of Gurjaramaṇḍala. It is therefore quite intelligible, that a portion of Lāṭa, when occupied by the Gurjaras, should be called Gurjaratrā after them. I say a portion of Lāṭa, because from the above it will be easily perceived that as the province held by the Gurjaras included Dholka, Kapaḍvang, Ahmedabad, Patan and Cambay. It did not extend to the south-west of Mahi. And quite in consonance with this view, we find Lāṭa mentioned in inscription during the Caulukya period side by side with such expressions Gurjaradeśa and so forth. It is thus clear that a portion of Lāṭa first came to be called after Gurjara when it came under the sway of the Caulukyas. conclusion is therefore irresistible that the Caulukyas were Gurjaras."

As a matter of fact there is no direct or indirect evidence to prove the Gurjara origin of the Caulukyas. The nature of the evidence, from which Mr. Campbell has drawn his conclusions, does not merit any serious consideration. Dr. Bhandarkar's observations, if examined with other evidences which he had evidently missed to take into consideration, do not stand criticism. It is true that the territory known as Sārasvatamaṇḍala had assumed the name Gurjara since the 11th

1 *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. IX, p. 485.

2 *JBBRAS.*, vol. XXI, pp. 425 ff.

3 *IA.*, vol. XII, p. 59.

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century A.D.[4] Jinadattasuri's *Gaṇadharasārdhaśataka* mentions Anahillavāḍa (modern Patan in Gujarat) as the capital of Gurjaratrā when Durlabha was ruling there.[5] It is significant that as soon as Sārasvatamaṇḍala assumed the name Gurjara, the ancient Gurjaratrā in Eastern Rajputana gradually became less known as such, and was divided into small territories under various names as Medāpaṭa, Sapādalakṣa, etc. This suggests that a large number of Gurjara population migrated from the Eastern Rajputana in the 10th and 11th century A.D. to Sārasvatamaṇḍala, to which they gave a name after their own.

Quite contemporaneously with the Caulukya rule in Gujarat, another Caulukya family to which Bārapa and his successors belonged, governed the country of Lāṭa, independent of foreign control. Lāṭa retained its name as such till the 13th century A.D. If the Sārasvatamaṇḍala changed its name as Gurjara due to the establishment of the Caulukyas there, it is inexplicable why Lāṭa failed to follow the same course. Similarly the Deccan, Andhra and Kaliṅga where the Cālukyas had numerous settlements are not known to have ever borne a name having any reference to Gurjara.

While there is no evidence to prove the Gurjara origin of the Cālukyas on the one hand, we have on the other a record which negatives it. The Aihole inscription[6] of Pulikeśin of Badami, dated 634 A.D., narrates that the king belonged to the Cālukya family and glorifies him for defeating the Gurjaras. This carefully distinguishes Pulikeśin and his family from the Gurjaras. Under this circumstance, the Cālukyas cannot be regarded as to have belonged to the Gurjara tribe.

The Cālukyas established numerous settlements in different parts of India.

The Eastern Cālukyas were a collateral branch of the Western Cālukyas of Badami. They also, like the other mediæval dynasties of

4 *IA.*, vol. VI, p. 191; cf. *IA.*, vol. XII. p. 59.

5 *JBBRAS.*, vol. XXI, p. 426. 6 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 11.

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India, traced their descent from a mythical ruling family. The Cellur plates[7] of Vīracoḍa, dated about 1100 A.D., give the following information about their origin. The earliest personage of the family was Buddha. He was followed in succession by Purūravas, Āyu, Nahuṣa, Yayāti, Puru, Janamejaya, Prācīśa, Sainyayāti, Hayapati, Sārvabhauma, Jayasena, Mahābhauma, Aiśānaka, Krodhānana, Devaki, Ṛbhuka, Ṛkṣaka, Mativara, Kātyāyana, Nīla, Duṣyanta, Bharata, Bhūmanyu, Hastin, Virocana, Ajamīḷha, Saṃvaraṇa, Sudhanvan, Parīkṣit, Bhīmasena, Pradipana, Saṃtanu, Vicitravīrya, Pāṇḍurāja, Pāṇḍavas, Abhimanyu, Parikṣit, Jnamejaya, Kṣemuka, Naravāhana, Satānika, Udayana. Udayana was followed by fifty-nine emperors on the throne of Ayodhyā. After their reign had elapsed, Vijayāditya, a king of this race, migrated to Dakṣiṇāpatha and invaded the kingdom of Trilocana-Pallava. But unfortunately, he fell fighting in the battle-field when his queen, who was then with child, accompanied by her family priest and the old ministers, fled to an Agrahāra called Muḍivemu. An ascetic named Viṣṇubhaṭṭa-Somayājin gave the party adequate shelter where the queen gave birth to a son known as Viṣṇuvardhana. In that boy was infused the ambition of a great king who when grew up a man, established a sovereignty over the Deccan having defeated the Kaḍamba, Gaṅga and other princes. Son of this king was Vijayāditya. His son was Pulikeśivallabha whose son was Kīrtivarman. From Kīrtivarman was born, Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, the founder of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty.

The first part of the above report can be dismissed as manifestly fabulous. The real history which deserves consideration begins from Viṣṇuvardhana. Pulikeśi, referred to above, was evidently the first great king of the Cālukya dynasty of Vātāpipura, the modern Badami, in the Bijapur District.[8] He was succeeded by his son Kīrtivarman in 562 A.D. Kīrtivarman fought with the Nalas, i.e., the people of the Nalavāḍi country in the direction of Bellary and Karnul, the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ, the Kāḍambas of Vanavāsī in North Kānārā, Kaliṅga,

7 Cellur plates of Vīra-Coḍa in *SII.*, vol. 1, pp. 49 ff.

8 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 8, V. 7.

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Kerala, Pāṇḍya, Dramila etc.[9] He married the sister of the Rāj̇ā Śrīvallabha Senānanda of the Sendraka family, who gave birth to three sons Pulikeśin II, Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana and Jayasiṃhavarman.[10]

Kīrtivarman was succeeded by his younger brother Maṅgaleśa in 597-98 A.D. Maṅgaleśa was also a powerful king. He tried to secure the succession to the throne for his own son by superseding the claim of his nephew Pulikeśin II.[11] This led to the out-break of the civil war between him and the sons of Kīrtivarman, in which Maṅgaleśa lost his life (608 A.D.). No sooner Pulikeśi ascended the throne than he had to encounter another trouble. Taking advantage of the civil war Appāyika and Govinda invaded his kingdom to the north of the Bhaimarathi (Bhīmarathi). The Cālukya army, however, succeeded in repulsing that invading force.[12] Pulikeśi besieged Vanavāsī and Purī. and to his arms submitted the Gaṅgas, Alupas, Koṅkaṇas, Mauryas, Lāṭas, Mālavas, Gurjaras, and the king Harṣa.[13] All these successful enterprises made the Cālukya prince the master of the three Mahārāṣṭrakas with nine and ninety thousand villages,[14] attached to them. He then installed his younger brother Viṣṇuvardhana as 'Yuvarāja', and made him the governor of a province in the neighbourhood of the modern Bhor State, in the Bombay presidency, probably to keep in check Appāyika and Govinda. The head-quarter of that province seems to have been at Kurumarathi which cannot be identified now.[15] An inscription[16] of the Yuvarāja Viṣṇuvardhana was found at Satara, the chief town of the District of that name in the Bombay Presidency. It states that Viṣṇuvardhana-Viṣamasiddhi, while residing at Kurumarathi, on the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika, granted the village Alandatīrtha, in the Śrīnilayabhoga, on the north of the agrahāra of Aṇopalli, and on the south bank of the Bhīmarathi, to the sons of Lakṣmaṇa-Svāmin. The record was written in the eighth

9 *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, part II, p. 345.
10 *IA.*, vol XVII, p. 265.
11 *EI.*, vol. VI, pp. 8-9.
12 *Ibid.*
13 *EI.*, vol. VI, pp. 8-9.
14 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 10.
15 *IA.*, vol. XIX, p. 310.
16 *Ibid.*

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year of the glorious Mahārāja who is to be identified with Pulikeśin II.[17] Mr. Fleet identifies Alandatīrtha with the modern Ālundah, five miles north-east of Bhor, the chief town of the Bhor State, and about thirty-five miles north of Satara.[18] Bhīmarathi is the modern river Bhīma on the north bank of which the battle between Pulikeśin and Appāyika and Govinda took place.[19] The date of the record corresponds to 616-17 A.D.

Pulikeśin, having settled his affairs in the north, turned his arms against the countries in the east. He marched into Kośala, the modern Raypur District, in the Central Provinces, and conquered it. His younger brother Yuvarāja Viṣṇuvardhana was despatched eastward for further conquest.[20] Viṣṇuvardhana invaded Kaliṅga which fell to his arms. Kaliṅga was at that time the country bounded by Kongoḍa, the modern Ganjam District, in the Madras Presidency, on the north, and the river Godāvarī on the south.[21] Its capital was situated 1400-1500 li, that is, 233-250 miles to the south-west of Ganjam.[22] Mr. Cunningham suggests that this place might have been either Rājamahendrī on the Godāvarī or the Koriṅga on the sea-coast. Rājamahendrī was founded by the Cālukya Amma I (918-925 A.D.). Piṣṭapura, the modern Pithapur, in the Godāvarī District, was a place of great importance during that period, and had been enjoying pre-eminence since the 4th century A.D.[23] I think it was the capital of Kaliṅga during that period, and the description of the Chinese traveller in this connection does not militate against this assumption. Piṣṭapura possessed a strong fortress. Viṣṇuvardhana besieged it and easily brought it under his subjugation. He next marched southwards and ravaged the country around the Kuṇāla lake which Mr. Kielhorn rightly identifies with the modern Kolleru lake,

17 Cf. inscription of Maṅgi Yuvarāja, *IA.*, vol. XX, p. 106.

18 *Ibid*, p. 304.

19 *EI.*, vol, VI, p. 9.

20 *EI.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 258, 260.

21 Cunningham's *Geography* ed. by S. N. Mazumdar, p. 590; Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, vol. II, p. 198.

22 Cun., *Geo.*, p. 590; Julien's *Hiuen Tsang*, III, 92.

23 Cf. Ragholi Plates of Śakativarman, *EI.*, vol. XII, p. 3.

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situated between the Godāvarī and Kistnā.[24] The country between these two rivers was known as the Andhradeśa, the capital of which was Veṅgi. Veṅgi is identical with 'Viṅgila' as mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.[25] It is the modern village of Vegi or Pedda-Vegi, seven miles north of Ellore, the chief town of the Ellore Taluka of the Godāvarī District, in the Madras Presidency, and about ten miles, to the north-west, from the Kolar or Kolleru lake. The Aihole inscription[26] of Pulikeśin, dated S. 556—634 A.D., states that "through the excellences of their householders prominent in the pursuit of three objects of life, and having broken the pride of other rulers of the earth, the Kaliṅgas with the Kośalas, by His (Pulikeśī's) army were made to evince signs of fear. Hard pressed by Him, Piṣṭapura became a fortress not difficult of access; wonderful (to relate), the ways of the Kali age to Him were quite inaccessible! Ravaged by Him, the water of Kuṇāla coloured with the blood of men killed with many weapons, and the land within it overspread with arrays of accoutred elephants was like the cloud-covered sky in which the red evening-twilight has risen".[27] Pulikeśin's inscription, dated 629 A.D., gives us to understand that the above conquests were made by the Yuvarāja Viṣṇuvardhana.[28] Both the countries of Andhra and Kaliṅga seem to have been under the suzerainty of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty, when Viṣṇuvardhana invaded them. Mādhavavarman I was the founder of this dynasty. His mother was a princess of the Vākāṭaka family.[29] Vākāṭakas were a powerful dynasty, who ruled over a territory which extended upto the

24 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 3. 25 Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, vol. II, p. 210.

26 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 11.

27 Gṛhiṇām sva—

sva-guṇais trivargga-tuṅgā vihit-ānyakṣitipālā-mānabhaṅgā(ḥ) abhavann upajāta-bhītiliṅgā yad-anīkena sa-Ko(sa) lāh Kaliṅgā(ḥ) II 23 Piṣṭaṃ Piṣṭapuraṃ yena-bhītiliṅgā yad-anīkena sa-Ko(sa)lāh Kaliṅgā(ḥ) II 26 Piṣṭaṃ Piṣṭapuram yena jātaṃ durggam adurggamañ citraṃ yasya kaler vṛttam jātaṃ durggama-durggamam II 27 Sannaddha-vāraṇa ghaṭāsthagit-āntarālam nāṇ-āyudha-kṣata-nara-kṣataj-āṅgarāgam āsīj jalaṃ yad-avamardditam abhra-garbhṃ Kaunālaṃ ambaram iv o(j)ita sādhyarāgam II 28 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 6.

28 *EI.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 258, 260. 29 *EI.*, vol. IV, p. 197.

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Narmadā on the north, Raypur in the Central Provinces on the east, the Bhīma on the south-west and Aparānta on the west. Harisena, who ruled from about A.D. 475-500, is the last known Vākāṭaka king.[30] He conquered Kaliṅga and Andhra.[31] From about A.D. 300 to the middle of the 5th century the Śālaṅkāyanas held sway over the Andhra country.[32] They were overthrown by the Pallavas of Kāñci, who annexed that country into their dominion in the latter part of the 5th century A.D.[33] Harisena's adversary in the Andhra country must have been these Pallavas, who were completely ousted by him. After that glorious victory he handed over the thrones of Kaliṅga and Andhra to his relation Mādhavavarman I of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family. After all, no doubt can be entertained that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins held sway over Kaliṅga and Andhra in the 6th century A.D., i.e., in the period between the fall of the Pallavas and the rise of the Eastern Cālukyas in those countries. Mādhavavarman I was succeeded by Devavarman, Mādhavavarman II, Vikramendravarman I, and Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman. The last mentioned king issued grants of lands in the Vizagapatam District, in the Madras Presidency, which was within the ancient Kaliṅga.[34] He was succeeded by Vikramendravarman II, who issued grants from a place near Veṅgi, in the Andhradeśa.[35] Successors of Vikramendravarman II were Govindavarman, Mādhavavarman III and Mañcannabhaṭṭāraka. Mādhavavarman III granted lands in the Guddavāḍi Viṣaya to Śivaśarmā, son of Dāmaśarmā.[36] The Cālukya Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana's son Jayasiṃha (A.D. 633-663) also granted land in the Guḍḍavāḍi Viṣaya to Rudraśarmā, son of Śivaśarmā and grandson of Dāmaśarmā.[37] There is no doubt that Śivaśarmā mentioned in Jayasiṃha's grant is identical with that in Mādhavavarman III's

30 *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 328. 31 *ASWI.*, vol. IV, pp. 53, 124, 129 (*Ajanta insc.*) *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 330.

32 *SE.*, 1925, p. 73; *Ancient History of the Deccan* by G. J. Dubreuil, translated into English by V.S.S. Diksitar.

33 *IA.*, vol. V, p. 154.

34 *EI.*, vol. XII, p. 136. 35 *Ibid*, vol. IV, p. 195.

36 *Jour. Andhra. Hist. R.S.*, vol. VI, p. 19.

37 *Ibid*, vol. IV, p. 76.

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plate. This places Mādhavavarman III's reign in the latter part of the 6th and in the early years of the 7th century A.D. It is tolerably certain that Mañcannabhaṭṭāraka was the ruler of Andhra and Kaliṅga when Viṣṇuvardhana invaded those territories. After their defeat in the hand of the Cālukyas, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins lost their position as a ruling dynasty.

Now, Viṣṇuvardhana, who was the Governor of Mahārāṣṭra under his brother Pulikeśin, chose to establish a kingdom in those newly conquered provinces of Kaliṅga and Andhra for his own. He forthwith settled himself there, of course, with the consent of his dear elder brother Pulikeśin II, and administered the country as a subordinate of the Western Cālukyas of Badami. The Kopparam plates[38] of Pulikeśin II, dated 629-30 A.D., states that "Pṛthivīduvarāja having defeated the circle of enemies by his arm (which was) a churning-stick of the wicked people of the Kali age, (and) which was skilled in daring (deeds) in many battles, (and) which was wielding the drawn sword, has secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son". It further tells us that Pulikeśin made Pṛthivīduvarāja the executor of the grant through which a village in the Karmarāṣṭra is given to a Brahmin. Karmarāṣṭra corresponds to the southern part of the Guntur District, Madras Presidency. 'Duvarāja' is a Dravidian 'tadbhava' of 'Yuvarāja'. In the Kasakudi plates 'tuvarāśān' corresponds to 'Yuvarāja' in the Sanskrit portion.[39] The Satara grant[40] of Viṣṇuvardhana I, dated 615-16 A.D., mentions him as Pṛthivīvallabha Viṣṇuvardhana Yuvarāja. It is known from other sources that Karmarāṣṭra formed a part of the kingdom of Viṣṇuvardhana about this time. Hence there cannot be any doubt that Pṛthivīduvarāja referred to above was identical as the Pṛthivīvallabha Viṣṇuvardhana Yuvarāja.

38 Vidi(ta)m astu Vallabha (bhe) Sama(kṣ)-āvasti(sthi) te vidhivi(va)t sa(ṃ)pradattā maruta (mathā) kali-kulanām aneka-saṃgrāma-sāhasa-dakṣeṇa sva-sut-ānvaye pratiṣṭā(sthā)pita-rājyasya pri(pṛ)thivīdu(yu)varājam etc. *EI.*, vol. XVIII, p. 259.

39 *SII.*, vol. II, No. 73, cf. lines 103 and 106; *EI.*, vol IV, p. 180, fn. 5.

40 *IA.*, vol. XIX, p. 309.

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Viṣṇuvardhana obtained this new fortune in 615-16 A.D.[41]. He and his successors are known as the Eastern Cālukyas who ruled their kingdom for more than six centuries.

The territory over which the Eastern Cālukyas held sway, extended, in the flourishing period of their rule, up to Mahendragiri, in the Ganjam District on the east; the Bay of Bengal on the south; Manneru river, in the Nellore District on the west;[42] and the borders of the Nizam's State of Haiderabad, Bastar State, and the Central Provinces on the north. This comprised the southern part of the Ganjam District, the whole of Vizagapatam, Godāvarī, Kistnā, and Guntur Districts and part of the Nellore District, in the Madras Presidency. Madhyama Kaliṅga was the name of the territory which corresponds roughly to the modern Vizagapatam District.[43] The designation was probably given to this province in order to distinguish it from the south and north Kaliṅga which corresponded roughly to the modern Districts of Godāvarī and Ganjam respectively. These three divisions seem to have constituted the country known as Tri-Kaliṅga. The Kistnā District was known as Andhra. The capital of Andhra was Veṅgi which was also the name of the Maṇḍala, in which it was situated. The Eastern Cālukyas were generally designated as the rulers of Veṅgi. Sometimes the name Trī-Kaliṅga was added with the name Veṅgi.[44]

DHIRENDRA CHANDRA GANGULY

41 *IA.*, vol. XX, p. 95.

42 Cālukya Rājarāja, the king of Veṅgi, who flourished in the latter part of the 11th century A.D. addressed his subjects who lived in the countries between the Manneru river and the Mahendra Mountain, while issuing a grant. (*EI.*, vol. VI. p. 342): Ma(nne)ti Mahendra-Madhyavarttino Rāṣṭrakūṭapramukhān Kuṭumbinas sarvāvan Samahaya mamtripurohita senāpati yuvarājadāuvarika pradhānasamakṣamitthamājñāpāyati) Manneti is the Telugu genitive of Manneru.

43 *EI.*, vol. VI, pp. 227, 358; *SE.*, 1918, p. 132; *SE.*, 1909, p. 106.

44 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 46.

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The Jaina School of Astronomy

Introduction

The Jaina astronomical treatises correspond in many respects to the *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga*, presumably the oldest specimen of Indian astronomical literature, and may, if minutely examined, yield valuable material for the general history of Indian ideas.[1] The *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga*[2] is the name of certain works or classes of works. It mentions the place of the winter solstice at some ancient date, which gave rise to good deal of comment and speculation. According to its author, the cycle consisted of five years of 1830 apparent solar days. The year was tropical and began with the white half of the month of *Māgha* and terminated with the dark half of the month of *Pauṣa* (verse 5). The year which is the fifth part of the *yuga* contains three hundred and sixty-six days, six seasons, two *ayanas* (the northern and the southern progress of the sun), twelve solar months (verse 28); while the sun accomplishes five tropical revolutions, the moon does sixty-two synodical and sixty-seven periodical revolutions and the whole period comprises sixty-one *sāvana* months of 30 natural days each (verse 31); the *yuga* begins with the winter solstice and the new moon of *Māgha*, the new moon taking place in the first point of Śraviṣṭhā. This indicates that the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* was composed in the twelfth century B.C.,—a conclusion confirmed by the *Bodhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*.

The object of the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*, in the words of Max Müller, is not "to teach astronomy". It has a practical object which is to convey such knowledge of the heavenly bodies as is necessary for fixing the days and hours of the vedic sacrifices.[3] But the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* gave astronomy the highest place among the sciences forming the vedāṅga. In it *Jyotiṣa* has been defined as the science of calculation of time (*kāla-*

1 See Weber, *Indian Studies*, 1867, x, 254f.

2 The text is given in Thibaut's article on *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga* (*JASB.*, 1877); *Yājuṣa Jyotiṣa* by Sudhākara Dvivedi and *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga* by Lala Chote Lal.

3 Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*.

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vijñāna śāstra).[4] The culture of the various branches of knowledge grew up among the Hindus as a help-maid to the religion and was subsidiary to it. But later on, all the sciences outgrew their original purposes and were being cultivated for their own sake. A new orientation had indeed set in, in the later part of the vedic age. Among the various sciences and arts[5] studied by Nārada, astronomy (*nakṣatra-vidyā*) has been mentioned. Nārada is not known to have ever led a worldly life. He was from childhood an earnest seeker of the supreme knowledge, the science of all sciences. Therefore, whatever Nārada learnt, was with a view to reach his great goal. He learnt astronomy for the same. In ancient India, the culture of the science of astronomy or of any other branch of secular science, was not considered to be a hindrance to the attainment of spiritual knowledge. In the vedic literature, the astronomer is known as the *nakṣatra-darśa* (the star-gazer) or *gaṇaka*.[6] The term *nakṣatra-darśa* sometimes refers to the astrologer. In the Buddhist literature the word *nakṣatra-pāṭhaka* (reader of stars) means the astrologer.[7]

In the wake of *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga* came the astronomy of the Jainas. The Jaina astronomical treatises, however, contain some strange cosmography. In them as in the Purāṇas, Mount Meru is placed at the centre of the earth, and round Meru are seven concentric annuli. Of these, the innermost, Jambūdvīpa, is divided into four quarters, of which the southernmost is Bhāratavarṣa; the heavenly bodies move parallel to the surface of the earth, with the centres of their orbits at Meru, which intercepts their light. This scheme presents certain difficulties in explaining the alternation of day and night; these difficulties the Jainas tried to overcome by the assumption of two similar but opposite suns, two moons, two sets of stars, etc. By these the system of the Jainas could easily be distinguished from similar other Indian systems. It is referred to and controverted in the *Siddhāntas*. The early Christian writers exhibit also similar absurd cosmological notions. Aetius writes: "Xenophanes says there are many suns and moons according

4 *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga*, verse 3.
5 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, vii, 1, 2, 3, 4.
6 *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā*, xxx, 10, 20; *Taittirīya Br.*, iv, 5.
7 *Mahāniddesa*, p. 382.

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to the regions, divisions and zones of the earth";[8] while Aristotle says "Many of the ancient meteorologists were persuaded that the sun is not carried under the earth, but round the earth, and in particular our northern portion of it, and that it disappears and produces night because the earth is lofty towards the north."[9] Lack of reasoning is met with in the infancy of every science; otherwise a man like Aristotle would not have said "the motions of the heavens is towards the right, because this is the more honourable direction."

The world, which, according to the Jainas, exists eternally is figured by them as a spindle resting on half of another; or, as they describe it, three cups, of which the lowest is inverted; and the uppermost meets at its circumference the middle one. They also represent the world by a woman with her arms akimbo.[10] Her waist, or according to the description first given, the meeting of the lower cups is the earth. The spindle above, corresponding to the superior portion of the woman's person, is the abode of the gods; and the inferior part of the figure comprehends the infernal regions. The earth which they suppose to be a flat surface, is bounded by a circle of which the diameter is one *raju*. The lower spindle comprises seven tiers of inferior earths or hells, at the distance of one *raju* from each other, and its base is measured by seven *rajus*. These seven hells are *Ratna-prabhā*, *Sarkara-prabhā*, *Bālukā-prabhā*, *Paṅka-prabhā*, *Dhūma-prabhā*, *Tama-prabhā*, *Tama-tama-prabhā*.[11] The upper spindle is also seven *rajus* high; and its greatest breadth is five *rajus*. Its summit, which is 4,500,000 *yojanas* wide, is the abode of the deified saints; beneath that are five *Vimānas*, or abodes of gods; of which the central one is named *Sarvārtha-siddha*, it is encompassed by the regions *Aparājita*, *Jayanta*, *Vaijayanta*, and *Vijaya*. Next at the distance of one *raju* from the summit follow nine tiers or worlds, representing a necklace (*graiveyaka*), and inhabited by gods, denominated, from their pretensions to supremacy, Ahamindra. These nine regions are *Āditya*, *Prītiṅkara*, *Somanasa*, *Sumanasa*,

8 Heath, *Greek Mathematics*, p. 56.
9 Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos*, p. 41.
10 See the *Saṅgrahani-ratna* and *Lokanātha-sūtra*.
11 Some say *Tamaprabhā* and *Mahātamaprabhā*.

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Suviśāla, Sarvatobhadra, Manorama, Supravaddha and *Sudarśana*. Under these regions are twelve other regions, in eight tiers, from one to five *rajus* above the earth. They are filled up with vimānas, or abodes of various classes of gods, called by the general name of Kalpavāsis. These worlds, reckoning from that nearest the earth, are, Saudhama and Iśāna; Sanatkumāra and Mahendra; Brahmā; Lāntaka; Śukra; Sahasrāra; Ānata and Prāṇata; Āraṇa and Acyuta. Then, of the four classes of deities distinguished by the Jainas, the third, the Jyotiṣīs (or Jyotiṣkas) comprehends five orders of luminaries; suns, moons, planets, constellations, and stars.

The earth is conceived by the Jainas to consist of numerous distinct continents, in concentric circles, separated by seas forming rings between them. The first circle is called Jambūdvīpa, with the mountain Sudarśa Meru in the centre. It is encompassed by a ring containing the salt ocean, beyond which is the zone, named Dhātukī-dvīpa, similarly surrounded by a black ocean (*Kālodadhi*). This again is encircled by Puṣkara-dvīpa, of which only the first half is accessible to mankind, being separated from the remoter half by an impassable range of mountains, called Mānuṣottara-parvata. Dhātukī-dvīpa contains two mountains, similar to Sumeru, named Vijaṅga and Acala; and Puṣkara contains two others called Mandīrā and Vidyunmālī.[12]

Without any acquaintance with these notions of the Jainas, it is not possible to understand their conception of the setting and rising of stars and planets caused by the mountain Sumeru. The Jainas allot two suns, two moons, and two each of planets, stars and constellations, to Jambūdvīpa; and believe that they appear, on alternate days, south and north of Meru. They similarly allot twice that number to the salt ocean; six times to Dhātukīdvīpa; twenty-one times to the Kālodadhi and thirty-six times or seventy-two of each to Puṣkara-dvīpa.

Colebrooke collected this short account of the cosmological and astronomical system of the Jainas from various Jaina works and included it in his "Observations on the sect of the Jainas" (Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. II). This account, though accurate as far as it goes, is very

12 Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. II, "Observations on the Jainas", pp. 198-200.

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insufficient for a complete knowledge of the astronomy of the Jainas, since it chiefly refers to the one doctrine of the Jainas only, which has at all times struck the readers as strange and absurd, viz., the assertion that there exists two suns, two moons and a double set of constellations.

The Jaina astronomy belongs to the 5th century B.C., an age when scientific knowledge was very rudimentary. Edward Biot, a French astronomer, drew attention to the striking resemblance which the Jaina cosmological and astronomical conceptions bear to those contained in an old Chinese work, *Tcheou-Pei*. He has published a complete translation of this work in the *Journal Asiatique* (1841, pp. 592-639). It consists of two parts, written at different periods; the second part, according to Biot cannot be later than the end of the second century of the Christian Era. It treats of a cosmological and astronomical system similar to the Jainas. According to the *Tcheou-Pei*, the sun describes during the course of the year a number of concentric circles of varying diameter round the pole of the sky. On the day of the Summer solstice the diameter of this circle is the smallest; it then increases during the following months, up to the day of the winter solstice when it reaches the maximum. Beginning from this day the diameter again decreases, until on the day of the next summer solstice it has reached the original minimum. Between the innermost and outermost circles there lie five other circles, which the sun describes in the months intervening between the two solstices, so that there are altogether seven circles; the six intervals between these are said to correspond to the months of the year ($2 \times 6 = 12$). So it appears that the *Tcheou-Pei* assumes separate solar circles for each month only, and not for each day. When the sun in his daily revolution has reached the extreme point, it is mid-day in the northern region and mid-night in the southern region; when he has reached the east point it is mid-day in the eastern, mid-night in the western region; when he has reached the south point, it is mid-day in the southern, mid-night in the northern region; when he has reached the west point, it is mid-day in the western, mid-night in the eastern region. The two systems may be compared thus: In the Jaina system the sun revolves round Meru while in the Chinese round polar circle; both the systems state the dimensions of the circle described by the sun; both hold the same opinion about the alternation of day and

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night in the different parts of the earth. But there are also important points in which the two systems differ. Therefore, the fact of the similarity of the two systems in certain points does not warrant us in drawing a historical connection between the two until and unless a solution of a number of cognate problems is made. It is sufficient to mention here that the mental tendencies of the ancient nations were almost similar in an early age, when all of them conceived plausible theories, in reality devoid of foundaton, by which they tried to account for puzzling phenomena. This accounts for the somewhat absurd notions of the Jaina system which, at an early period, made generalisations from all kinds of suppositions.

Place of Astronomy in Jainism

The religious literature of the Jainas is generally classified into four branches, one of which is *Gaṇitā-nuyoga* or the "exposition of the principles of mathematics." The knowledge of *Saṃkhyāna* (literally, "the science of numbers", meaning arithmetic) and *jyotiṣa* (astronomy) is one of the principal accomplishments of the Jaina priest.[13] It is laid down in the *Bṛhaspati smṛti*[14] that the king must show honour to astronomers before entering the court. In the Buddhist literature, aritmetic (*gaṇanā, saṃkhyāna*) is regarded as one of the noble arts[15] to be acquired by a young house-holder. But the Buddhist monks were advised to refrain from the study of astronomy.[16]

13 *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, 90; *Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra* xxv, 7, 8, 38. It is noteworthy that the knowledge of astronomy was considered necessary for the Jaina priest for exactly the same purpose as it was for the vedic priest, viz., to find the right time and place for the religious ceremonies. Thus it is observed by Śānticandragaṇa (1595 A.C.) in the preface to his commentary on the *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*: "Suddhagaṇita siddhe praśaste kāle gṛhītāni praśastaphalāni syuḥ, kālaścajyotiścārādhīnaḥ, sa ca jambūvīpādikṣetrā-dhinavyavastha stenāyam kālāparaparyāyo gaṇitānuyogaḥ."

14 *Bṛhaspatismṛti*, i, 20.

15 *Vinayapiṭaka*, ed. Oldenberg, vol. IV, p. 7; *Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. 1, p. 85; *Cullaniddesa*, p. 109.

16 Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. II pp. 20ff., where astronomy and astrology have been condemned as low arts (tiracchāna vijjā) so far as bhikṣus are concerned. He more specially condemned astrology (*Cullavagga*, v,

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The study of Mathematics and Astronomy was held by the Jainas in high esteem. The Jaina priest has to study astronomy for ascertaining the proper time and place for the religious ceremonies. Bhadrabāhu attributes to the founder of their religion a sound knowledge of the science of astronomy.[17] The author of the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha* (i. 2) says that Mahāvīra was known to have been a great mathematician and astronomer. He was reputed to have written several works on mathematics and astronomy. All these show that the Jainas valued the culture of astronomy.

Sources

The only work on Jaina Astronomy available at present is the *Sūrya-prajñapti*. It is written in Jaina Prākṛt and divided into twenty books (prābhṛtas). Dr. Thibaut says that this book must have been written before the Greeks came to India, as there is no trace of Greek influence in this work. Its authorship is attributed to Mahāvīra. There are two other works on Jaina astronomy, viz., *Candraprajñapti* and *Bhadrabāhavī Saṃhitā* of Bhadrabāhu. That there were other works may be inferred from a few quotations made by Varāhamihira, Brahmagupta, Bhāskarācārya and others in course of their refutation of the Jaina theories.

In the 13th chapter of Varāhamihira's *Pañcasiddhāntikā* (sixth century A.C.) he refers to the Jaina astronomers in these words: "If according to the doctrine of the Arhats, there were two suns, and two moons rising by turn, how then is it that a mark made in the polar constellation by means of a line drawn from the sun revolves within one day?"[18] Brahmagupta (598 A.C.) refutes the theories of the Jainas once

33, 3 in the *Vinaya Texts*, Sacred Books of the East Series, vol. xx, p. 162). Later on he modified his opinion and made it a rule of conduct for the bhikṣus dwelling in the woods that they must learn elementary astronomy.

17 *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu (c. 350 B.C.), English translation by Hermann Jacobi, ii, 10 (*SBE.*, vol. XXXII p. 221).

18 [illegible] द्वौ द्वावेकान्तरोदयौ किल तौ ।
[illegible] कि ध्रुवचिह्नं भ्रमत्यहा ॥
पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका, १३ अः, ८ श्लोः ।

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in a verse in the Dūṣaṇa adhyāya of his *Sphuṭasiddhānta* thus:— 'There are fifty-four nakṣatras, two risings of the sun; this which has been taught by Jina is untrue, since the revolution of the polar fish takes place within one day.''[19] Śrīpatī (c. 1040 A.C.) speaks of the theories of the Jaina astronomers in these words:—"The Jainas assert that the earth is not fixed, but descends perpetually in space, there are two suns, two moons, two sets of stars and planets and the Meru is of pyramidial shape."[20]

Bhāskarācārya also refuted this absurdity. His refutation was based on that of Brahmagupta. He said:—"The naked sectaries and the rest affirm that two suns, two moons and two sets of stars appear alternately; against them I allege this reasoning. How absurd is the notion which you have formed of duplicate suns, moons and stars, when you see the revolution of the polar fish. "[21]

Bhāskara refutes also the other notion of the Jainas that the earth, being heavy and without support, must perpetually descend. In his *Siddhānta śiromaṇi*,[22] he says: "The earth stands firm by its own power without other support in space." (verse 2). "If there be a material support to the earth, and another upholder of that, and again another of this, and so on, there is no limit. If, finally, self-support must be assumed, why not assume it at the very beginning? Why not recognise it in this multiform earth?" (verse 4).

"The earth possessing an attractive force (like loadstone for iron, says the commentator on Bhāskara), draws towards itself any heavy substance situated in the surrounding atmosphere and that substance appears

19 भानि चतुः पञ्चाशद् द्वौ द्वावेवोदयौ जिनोक्तं यत्।
ध्रुवमत्स्यास्यावर्त्तो भवति यतोऽह्ना ततस्तदसत्॥

20 अधः पतन्त्यः स्थितिरस्ति नोर्व्यां नभस्यनन्तेऽत्र वदन्ति जैनाः।
द्वौ द्वौ रवीन्दू द्विगुणां भसंस्थां चतुर्भुजस्तम्भनिभञ्च मेरुम्॥

21 Siddhānta śiromaṇi, Golādhyāya.

22 *Siddhānta śiromaṇi, Golādhyāya*, Chapter III. Here we may mention that in the Purāṇas the serpent, Ananta, is supposed to be the supporter of this earth. This must be an allegory and means no doubt that the earth stands without support in space, as the meaning of 'Ananta' is also space.

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as if it fell. But where can the earth fall, in ethereal space which is the same and alike on all sides?"[23] (verse 6).

Such references from later astronomers like Varāhamihira, Brahmagupta, Bhāskara and others go to show that there were several Jaina astronomical works, which are not now available.

The *Bhadrabāhavī Saṃhitā* was written by Bhadrabāhu. According to the traditional calculation, the date of Bhadrabāhu's death is 170 A.V. (357 B.C.) i.e., 170 years after the death of Mahāvīra. According to Hemcandra (died 1172 A.D.), Mahāvīra died in 468 B.C., then the date of Bhadrabāhu's death falls in 298 B.C. Bhadrabāhu was a very prominent personage in the history of the Jaina religion and is reputed as the last of the Śrutakevalin, i.e., those who could produce from memory the whole of the voluminous canonical literature of the Jainas. He was the religious preceptor of Candragupta when the latter towards the close of his life became a Jaina Bhikṣu. Bhadrabāhu is known to be the author of two astronomical works: (1) a commentary on the *Sūrya-prajñapti*, and (2) an original work called the *Bhadrabāhavī Saṃhitā*. Neither of the work is available at present. The former has been mentioned by Malayagiri in the opening verses of his commentary on the *Sūryaprajñapti* and, in fact, he has quoted a few lines from that work.[24] Bühler is said to have found a work called

23 In chapter III of the *Goladhyāya*, reference has been made to a similar conception held by a Buddhist astronomer, who, on observation of the revolution of the stars, held that the earth had no support and that it fell in ethereal space. No work of any Buddhist astronomer is available and it is generally believed that in consequence of Buddha's forbidding the monks to use the astronomical science, as a means of livelihood or influence, possibly no Buddhist astronomical work was ever preserved. The passage runs thus: "Whence dost thou, O Bauddha, get this idle notion, that because any heavy substance thrown into the air falls to the earth, therefore, the earth itself descends?" (verse 9).

Bhāskara in his *Vāsanā Bhāṣya*, says further "For, if the earth were falling, an arrow shot into the air would not return to the earth when the projectile force was exhausted, since both would descend. Nor can it be said that it moves slower and is overtaken by the arrow, for heaviest bodies fall quickest and the earth is the heaviest."

24 Sūtra 11, commentary.
The commentary written by Bhadrabāhu on *Sūryaprajñapti* is believed to be the first commentary on the work.

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Bhadrabāhavī Saṃhitā,[25] but its authenticity has been doubted by modern scholars on the grounds that (1) it is of the same character as the other saṃhitās, (2) it has not been mentioned by Varāhamihira (505 A.C.) who has referred to many writers,[26] and (3) it contains the date of its last redaction, viz., 980 A.V. (=512 A.C.).[27] Certain passages from a work attributed to Bhadrabāhu have been quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*.[28]

The famous Jaina saint and mathematician Bhadrabāhu first lived at Kusumapura (modern Patna) in Magadha; but about 155 A.V. (=313 B.C.), when a terrible famine lasting for twelve years devasted the realm of Magadha, Bhadrabāhu at the head of a section of the Jaina community emigrated to Southern India and settled near Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in Mysore.

Another Jaina astronomer of the name of Siddhasena has been referred to by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat saṃhitā*. Bhaṭṭotpala has quoted the corresponding passages from the work of Siddhasena. Therefore it must have been in existence at that time. It is now lost. The *Jambūdvīpa prajñapti*[29] (c. 500 B.C.) gives elaborate specifications of the dimensions of the different dvīpas or lands of the fantastic cosmography of the Jainas.

Our present knowledge of Jaina astronomy is derived chiefly from the *Sūryaprajñapti*, an important astronomical book of the Jainas. Though the treatment of the subject is not systematic and the text is full of tedious reiterations, it furnishes us with the details of the astronomical and cosmographical speculations of the Jainas.

25 *Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 1874-75, p. 20.

26 Vide a paper on 'The Jaina School of Mathematics,' by Dr. Bibhuti Bhushan Dutt, *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, vol. XXI, no. 2, 1929.

27 *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, edited by Jacobi, Leipzig, 1897, introduction, p. 14.

28 *Bṛhat saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira with the commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala, edited by Sudhākara Dvivedi, p. 226. Jacobi in his preface to the translation of Kalpasūtra remarks that the *Bhadrabāhavī Saṃhitā* was a work on astrology.

29 *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti* with the commentary of Śānticandra Gaṇi, edited by Āgamodayasamiti of Mehasana, 1918, sūtra, 10-12, 16.

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Topics discussed

The main topics discussed in the *Sūryaprajñapti* are the two suns, two moons, and two sets of constellations.

The theory of the two suns is thus explained: "There are two suns, Bhārata and Airāvata. They both move through half a diurnal circle in the course of 30 *muhūrtas;* i.e., in the course of 60 *muhūrtas* or 2 days, they complete a full diurnal circle. That sun which moves in the outermost circle in the southern hemisphere is called Bhārata, because it illumines the Bhāratakhaṇḍa. The other which moves through the same outer circle in the northern hemisphere is called Airāvata, because it illuminates the Airāvata area. The Bhārata is visible to us. The imaginary circle through which this sun moves is divided into 124 divisions. It is also divided into four parts by drawing the vertical and horizontal diameters (*davarika*). Of these four parts the southern containing 29 diurnal circles, the north-western 91, the north-eastern 92 and south-western 91. Of these circles the Bhārata in the second half of the year moves through 92 circles and the Airāvata 91 circles. Likewise in the north-western division, the Airāvata moves through 91 circles."[30] This peculiar assumption is due obviously to the Jaina notion that the sun, moon and stars revolve round the Mount Meru. The prevailing opinion, represented, for instance, by the Purāṇas, was that the whole revolution is performed in twenty-four hours, so that the sun describes during the time when it is day in Bhāratvarṣa the southern half of his circle, and during the time when it is night to the south of Mount Meru, and day in the countries north of it, the northern half.[31]

The Jainas, however, took a different view of the matter. They thought it more appropriate to hold that as there are four directions, the sun's circle should be divided into four quarters, corresponding to the four divisions, and that the sun should bring day in succession to the countries to the south, west, north and east of Meru. But on the

30 *Sūryaprajñapti* with Malayagiri's commentary, pp. 22, 23.

31 Vide G. Thibaut's paper on *Sūryaprajñapti*, *JASB.*, vol. XLIX No. 3, 1880, p. 110.

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supposition of the sun's passing through each of the four quarters at the same time, the Jainas could not realise how the sun could appear to rise again in the Bhāratavarṣa after the lapse of a period just sufficient to advance his place by one quarter of the circle and therefore they assumed that the sun appearing on a certain morning is not the same which had set on the preceding evening, but a second sun similar in every respect to the first one. The whole circle is thus described by two suns, separated from each other by half the circumference, each of which appears in the Bhāratvarṣa on alternate days. The same reasoning led to the assumption of two moons and two sets of stars.

The next topic of importance is the astronomic chronological period, viz., the well-known quinquennial *yuga* or cycle which is the same as that of the *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga*[32] and the difference that the Jaina Calender has in some respects from the Vedic and Paurāṇic Calender, viz., the various kinds of years, the length of day and night, the months, the seasons, both solar and lunar, and the year-beginning.

The division of the sphere into *Nakṣatras* or constellations is then discussed. The order begins with *Abhijit* in the cycle of the Jainas. A detaled explanation is then given of the hypothesis which accounts for the appearances due to the various motions of the heavenly bodies, beginning with the sun. The three diffrent kinds of motion of the sun are thus explained, (i) the daily motion from east to west; (ii) the annual motion through the circle of the *nakṣatras*, from the west towards the east; and (iii) the motion in declination according to which the sun ascends northwards during one half of the year and descends southwards during the other half. Then a statement is made regarding the velocity with which the sun moves in its different circles. In this connection the various opinions prevailing about the rising and setting of the sun are given in detail.

Then the motion of the moon is considered. Although the greater part of the *Sūryapraj̃ñapti* treats of the moon, specially of the places she occupies at different times in the circle of the *nakṣatras*, a detailed connected account of her motions is not given anywhere. It has been

32 The same cycle is described in the *Garga Saṃhitā* and the *Paitāmaha Saṃhitā*.

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already stated that the sun's daily apparent motion is regarded to be the one and considered to take place round Mount Meru, the yearly motion is the consequence of the sun's moving more slowly than the stars, the sun's motion in declination being the result of its describing round Mount Meru circles of varying diameter. All this is applied to the moon also.

Then the solution of some problems regarding the particular *Ayana* and particular diurnal circle in which a desired *Parva* occurs is considered. The question is asked, "At what *Ayana* and particular diurnal circle at the beginning of a cycle does the first *parva* attain completion, or any particular *parva* occur?" Parva is one of the 124 divisions in which a *yuga* circle is divided.

The question is then raised regarding the relative velocity of sun, moon and stars.

The last point that is considered is the information regarding the nakṣatras, their zodiacal circle; and their conjunction with the moon and the sun. Motion of the stars and planets is also discussed; the stars are said to be quicker than the planets; among the latter the sun is slower than the moon. This is ascertained by considering their motions through the ecliptic circles. A reference is also made to eclipses of the sun and the moon, and in this connection the views of others, viz., Rāhu swallowing either of them partially or wholly, are criticised and the Jaina view of the dark *vimāna* (cart) of *Rāhu* covering the moon's or sun's disc partially or wholly is put forward.

(To be continued)

Sukumar Ranjan Das

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Some Cosmological Ideas of the Jainas

Mythological ideas of the ancients have their own interest to the moderns. The ideas of the Jainas who are the oldest Indian sect outside Brahmanism of which we possess a history and literature, have their importance not only for their own sake but also for comparison with their Brahmanical and Buddhist parallels. The question is not entirely univestigated. J. Burgess, in his translation of Bühler's *On the Indian Sect of the Jainas* (London, 1903) appended an outline of Jaina mythology. Like all pioneer work, this treatment also was rudimentary. Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson's account in the *Heart of Jainism* (Oxford University Press, pp. 268-272) is fuller no doubt but incomplete and contains some errors. J. L. Jaini's account in *Outlines of Jainism* (Cambridge University Press, pp. 119-124) also is inadequate. An attempt is made below to present a systematic account as full as possible and necessary in conformity with canonical material for the purposes of ready reference.

References to mythological ideas are scattered all over the canonical literature of the Śvetāmbara Jainas in varying extent. There is hardly a single work in the canon which does not contain something about the question. In particular the *Samavāyāṅga* and *Bhagavatī* among the *Aṅgas* and the *Jambūdvīpa-prajñapti*, *Nirayāvalī*, *Jīvābhigama*, and *Aupapātika* among the *Upāṅgas*, and the *Devendrastava* among the *Prakīrṇas* contain fuller treatment of the subject. Successive lines of commentators have often added to and extended the scope of the matter contained in the canon, for nothing delighted the Jaina ascetical schoolmen more than numerical amplification and statistical wealth. I have used this latter material of the commentators with extreme abstemiousness. Names and terms in the original Prakrit have been given throughout in Sanskrit as used by Jaina commentators and standard authorities, for the purpose of standardisation.

A. Cosmography

The cosmos is conceived as a huge human figure the legs of which

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represent the underworlds, the central part the middle world, and the upper part the heavens.

There are seven earths, viz., ratna , śarkarā , vālukā , paṅka, dhūma , tamah , and mahātamaḥprabhā. These lie parallel to one another and each is situated one *rajju* below another. Each is enveloped by an atmosphere of three layers of air, heavy, humid, and rarified. These atmospheres give support to the earths and each of these layers is twenty thousand *yojanas* thick. We live in the first of these earths which is one hundred and eighty thousand *yojanas* thick and consists of three sections viz., khara , paṅka , and abbahulabhāga.

Hells. These are vast chasms in the earths. The total number of hells in the seven earths is eighty-four lacs. The hells of the ratnaprabhā earth are situated in its abbahulabhāga. Each hell is divided into layers. Hells in the first four earths and those in the upper layers of the fifth are hot and the rest are cold.

Heavens. There are eight pairs of heavens situated one above another.[1] These sixteen pairs of heavens are called saudharma, īśāns, sanatkumāra, mahendra, brahma, brahmottara, lāntava, kāpiṣṭha, śukra, mahāśukra, satāra, sahasrāra, ānata, prāṇata, āraṇa, and acyuta. These are called the *kalpa* heavens. Above the kalpas are situated in ascending order the nine *graiveyakas*, nine *anudiśas*, and five *anuttaras* (viz., vijaya, vaijayanta, jayanta, aparājita, and sarvārthasiddhi). Above the sarvārthasiddhi is the siddhakṣetra. In these heavens there are sixty-three layers.

B. Geography

The middle world consists of a number of concentric islands and seas. At the centre is the Jambūdvīpa whereon we live. This island is circular in shape. Around this island are successive belts of ten seas and nine lands (also called islands) one after another in the following order, lavaṇa-sea, dhātakikhaṇḍa-land, kālodadhi-sea, and after this each land and sea surrounding it are called by the same name, viz., Puṣkaravara, Vāruṇīvara, Kṣīravara, Ghṛtavara, Ikṣuvara, Nandīśvara, Aruṇavara, and Svayambhūramaṇa. Jambūdvīpa is one hundred thousand yojanas long along its diameter. Each succeeding belt of

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either sea or land measures twice as much in breadth than the one preceding it.

At the centre of Jambūdvīpa is Mount Meru. Jambūdvīpa is divided into seven kṣetras, viz., Bharata, Haimavata, Hari, Videha, Ramyaka, Hairaṇyavata, and Airāvata, each of which lies to the north of the one preceding. Dividing every two kṣetras respectively are the mountains called Himavān, Mahāhimavān, Niṣidha, Nīla, Rukmi, and Śikhariṇ. The colours of these mountains are respectively like gold, silver, red-hot gold, blue, white, and golden. The sides of these mountains are strewn with precious stones and they are of the same width at the top as at the bottom. On the top of them are these six lakes respectively, Padma, Mahāpadma, Tigiñcha, Keśari, Mahāpuṇḍarīka, and Puṇḍarīka. The first lake is one thousand yojanas long, five hundred *ys.* broad and ten *ys.* deep. At the centre of this lake is a lotus-shaped island one *y.* broad. Each lake is presided over by a goddess and each succeeding one is bigger in dimension than the one preceding.

Rising from each lake and flowing over each kṣetra are two rivers flowing into the sea, one flowing eastward and the other westward. Arising from lake Padma and flowing over Bharatakṣetra are the rivers Gaṅgā and Sindhu. The other successive rivers are Rohit and Rohitāsyā, Harit and Harikāntā, Sītā and Sitodā, Nārī and Narakāntā, Suvarṇakūlā and Rūpyakūlā, and, Raktā and Raktodā. Gaṅgā and Sindhu have each fourteen thousand tributaries and some of the other rivers have still greater number of tributaries.

Bharatakṣetra is $526\frac{6}{19}$ *Yojanas* in breadth. Each kṣetra and mountain is twice the breadth of the mountain or the kṣetra preceding it.

In Dhātakikhaṇḍa-land in the inner half of Puṣkaravara-land the number of kṣetras, mountains, lakes, and rivers is double of those in Jambūdvīpa. Along the middle of Puṣkaravara-land runs a mountain-range called *Manuṣyottara* beyond which there is no human life.

C. Devas

Existence among the devas is caused by the practice of self-control.

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austerities, and by submission to the fruition of karma. Devas have the sexes of masculine and feminine.

There are four classes of devas, viz.,

1. Bhavanavāsins—those who dwell in residences,
2. Vyantaras—those who move about,
3. Jyotiṣkas—those who inhabit the heavenly bodies, and
4. Vaimānikas—those who dwell in the heavens.

The first class is divided into ten sub-classes, the second into eight, the third into five, and the fourth into twelve.

Each sub-class of the first and fourth classes is arranged into ten grades, viz.,

Indras—who are the heads of the sub-class
Sāmānikas—who enjoy an exhalted position of privilege
Trāyastriṃśas—who are the advisors of the gods
Pāriṣads—who are the courtiers of the Indras
Ātmarakṣas—who are the bodyguards of the Indras
Lokapālas—who are the protectors of the gods
Anīkas—who are the army of the gods
Prakīrṇakas—who form the general body of the gods
Ābhiyogyas—who serve as the conveyance of the gods, such as lions, horses, bulls etc.
Kilbiṣikas—who serve other gods as menials.

The second and third classes have no trāyastriṃśa and lokapāla grades. In each sub-class of the first and second classes there are two Indras.

Gods in the lowest pair of heavens have sexual enjoyment by their bodies, those in the next above pair by touch only, those in the third and fourth pairs by sight only, those in the fifth and sixth pairs by hearing only, and those in the seventh and eighth pairs by mind only. Devas beyond the kalpa heavens have no sex. These latter devas are called the *ahamindras or "I am Indras"*.

Bhavanavāsin devas have these ten sub-classes: asura , nāga , vidyuta , suparṇa , agni , vāta , stanita , udadhi , dvīpa, and dik-kumāras. They are all kumāras because of their eternal youth.

Vyantara devas have these eight sub-classes, viz., kinnaras,

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kimpuruṣas, mahoragas, gandharvas, yakṣas, rākṣasas, bhutas, and piśācas.

Jyotiṣka devas have five sub-classes,—sūrya, candramas, graha, nakṣatra, and tārakā.

Vaimānika devas are of twelve classes according as they live under the twelve Indras in the sixteen heavens i.e., one Indra for each of the first and last four heavens and one Indra for every two of the intermediate eight heavens.

Devas living in the brahma-heaven are called Laukāntikas and are of eight classes, viz., sārasvata, āditya, vahni, aruṇa, gardatoya, tuṣita, avyābādha, and ariṣṭa.

The intermediate portion of the khara-bhāga of the ratnaprabhā earth is inhabited by Bhavanavāsin devas (except the asurakumāras) and Vyantara devas (except the rākṣasas). Asurakumāras and rākṣasas live in the paṅkabhāga of the same earth.

Devas born in anuttara and anudiśa heavens are reborn on earth as men twice at the most before attaining mokṣa. Souls that have attained mokṣa live in the siddhakṣetra heaven.

The periods of residence of the devas in the heavens are immensely long and go on increasing as do also their powers, happiness, glow, purity of *leśyas*, keenness of the senses, and *avadhi* knowledge with the rise into successively higher heavens while mobility, stature, attachment to worldly things and pride go on decreasing. The stature in the first heaven is seven cubits while that in the anuttara heavens is one cubit.

D. Nārakins

They are neuter in sex, hideous in appearance, suffer from disagreeable and painful sensations and transform themselves into malevolent animals. They suffer tortures in the hands of each other as also, in the first three earths, in the hands of the asurakumāra devas. They live in the hells for ages, the number of which goes on increasing as the hells become lower.

Both the devas and nārakins have from birth *mati*, *śruta*, and *avadhi* knowledge; both have the *taijasa*, *kārmaṇa*, and *vaikriyika*

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bodies, and birth by *upapāda*; both live the full span of their lives which cannot be cut short.

Some of the technical terms used above require a word of explanation. The Leśyas are "thought-colours" which determine the temperament of a being They are six in number, black, blue, grey, yellow, pink, and white. The first three are inferior and are possessed by the nārakins while the last three are superior and are possessed by the devas. Knowledge is of five kinds of which *mati* stands for sensuous, *śruta* for inferential, and *avadhi* for intuitive knowledge. There are five kinds of body of which *taijasa* stands for that made of a very fine stuff, kārmāṇa for that made of karma stuff, and *vaikriyika* for that made of an elastic stuff which can be changed at will. Birth is of three kinds of which *upapāda* is instantaneous birth with the help of *vaikriyika* matter.

Many arithmetical details of minor importance have been omitted from the above account.

Amulya Chandra Sen

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Domicile of the Author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa

The question of the domicile of the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa,[1] a landmark in our religious history, is an important one. The evidences collected in this paper will show that he was a native of the Tamil country.

That our author was familiar with and proud of the Tamil country, the holy places and rivers thereof, and also the Tamil Āḻvārs or saints, and that he knew Tamil prosody, will appear from the evidence, set forth below, from the text of the Purāṇa itself. No other part of India, with the exception of the *līlābhūmi* of Śrīkṛṣṇa, is referred to so often, and with so much pride, while a few ancient legends are located in this part of the country.

I. In IV. 28, verses, 30-31, of the *Purāṇa*, say that Malayadhvaja, ruler of the Pāṇḍyas, begot seven sons, who became rulers of the Draviḍa land, and that each of these, in his turn, begot one *Arbuda* of sons, who dominated, and would in future dominate the world. The next verse says that Agastya, possibly the mythical sage who is said to have been the first Aryan to have migrated to the south, married the daughter of Malayadhvaja. Verses, 33 and 34, speak of the king dividing his kingdom among his sons, and retiring to the Kulācalam, to devote himself to meditations on Śrīkṛṣṇa, his wife also following him; while the next verse, 35, names three of the holy rivers of the south, the Candrarasā, the Tāmraparṇī, and the Vaṭodakā. Śrīdhara, the annotator of the *Bhāgavata*, takes the whole story to be an allegory, which it possibly is, but to refer the characters thereof to the Draviḍa country bespeaks the author's partiality for that part of India. The story of the past and future domination of the world, by the descendants of Malayadhvaja, might be a recollection of the Dravidian occupation of a good part of Asia in the past, which is believed in by some historians.

1 The references to the chapters and verses are given as in the Baṅgavāsi edition of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

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II. In Bk. VIII. 4, the legendary Gajendra, whom Viṣṇu released, is described as having been, in his former incarnation, Indradyumna, king of the Pāṇḍya country, the most holy man of his age in Draviḍa land.

III. Similarly, in VIII. 24. 10-13, we find Satyavrata of Ṛgvedic fame, described as a *Draviḍeśvara* performing *tarpaṇa* (i.e. offering water to departed ancestors) in the holy waters of the Kṛtamālā.

IV. In XI. 5, verses, 38-40, refer with pride, under the cloak of a prophecy, to the early Tamil saints, Āḻvārs as they are called, and to the holy rivers, the Tāmra-parṇī, the Kṛtamālā, the Payasvinī, the Kāverī, and the Mahānadī flowing west, on the banks of which the Āḻvārs are known to have lived.

V. In describing the hills and the rivers of India, in BK. V. 19, the author begins with an enumeration of the hills and the rivers of the south, but omits the Himalayas. The precedence given to the south in each case is significant. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, on the contrary, in enumerating the rivers of India begins with the Punjab rivers.

VI. In X. 61. 12, one of the sons of Śrīkṛṣṇa by his wife Jāmbavatī, is named Draviḍa, a name not occurring in the *Harivaṃśa* list of Kṛṣṇa's sons (BK. II, ch. 103).

VII. The story of Balarāma's pilgrimage, in BK. X, ch. 79, appears to have been introduced with the sole object of glorifying the holy places of the south. It is nothing like the pilgrimage up the course of the Sarasvatī river from its mouth, as in the *Mahābhārata* (Śalyaparva, ch. 35).

VIII. The description of the scenes of Śrīkṛṣṇa's sports in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, gives us no geographical knowledge of the land, and is as vague as could be expected of an author who knew the locality, mainly through books, or folklore.

IX. The style and language of the work are stiff and inelegant, and the verses are generally not pleasing to the ear, in spite of the fact that our author was as great a poet as a philosopher. It would seem as if he were constantly referring, even if mentally, to lexicons. The work is full of jarring words and lame metres, and it contains not a

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few errors of grammar, some of which have not escaped the notice of the commentators. The writing appears to me to be that of a man handling a foreign tongue, having no manner of kinship with the one he had learned from his mother. The stiffness of style of Yāmunācārya, Rāmānuja, and Veṅkatanātha is well-known. It might be said that Śaṅkara, too, though not a Tamilian was a man from the south, but that nobody, in the north ever wrote more graceful Sanskrit. But Śaṅkara was an intellectual prodigy, of a type almost unknown to human history, and he spent the greater part of his life in the north. Exception, as they say, proves the rule. Compare the style of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, a model of *Purāṇic* style, with that of the *Bhāgavata*, and you at once notice the difference. It is known now that the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* was composed in the north under Gupta auspices. Nor can it be contended that the difficulty of the subject-matter of the Bhāgavata accounts for the stiffness of its style. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is elegant even when it deals with philosophy, while the *Bhāgavata* is harsh, even when mere events are narrated, and only less so, when the poet is in the midst of supreme lyrical rapture. We have only to think of our own difficulty in handling English in order to be convinced of the justice of the above remarks. Dr. Winternitz's praise of the language of the *Bhāgavata* also bears me out.[2]

Mr. C. V. Vaidya, in his paper on the 'Date of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa', contributed to the *JBBRAS.* (1925, vol. I) attributes the stiffness of the style to the late date of the Purāṇa, saying that the author wrote at a time when Sanskrit had ceased to be a spoken language, even among Paṇḍits. This is hardly convincing, one might promptly point out some of the later Purāṇas, the *Gītagovinda*, and the works of a host of later writers, to upset his theory. Graceful Sanskrit is, as a matter of fact, spoken and written to this day.

X. The author uses the word '*gopura*' which means the ornamental gateway of a city, or of a temple, several times.[3] The word is less

2 *History of Indian Literature* (English Translation), vol. I, p. 556.

3 See I. 11. 14; IV. 9. 56; V. 24. 9; VII. 2. 15; VII. 15. 15; IX. 10. 17; IX. 11. 27; X. 50. 51; and X. 66. 41.

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familiar in the north than in the south, where the *gopurams* of the great temples are so well-known.

XI. The word *Śārodotphullamallikā*, in the very first line of the first verse of the celebrated *Rāsapañcādhyāya* (X. 29-33) deserves notice. It clearly shows our author's unfamiliarity with Vrajabhūmi, or for the matter of that, with Northern India, where the Mallikā never flowers in autumn. Commentators have sought to get over the difficulty by saying that, in the hallowed land of Vṛndāvana, all flowers bloom forth in all parts of the year, a phenomenon never witnessed by the ordinary mortal, not blessed with the second vision of a *bhakta*. At the same time, it would be strange if the author should make a mistake in composing the very first line of this important chapter. I am told, however, that the Mallikā does, as a matter of fact, flower in the south, during the season of the year known in Sanskrit literature as autumn (*Śaratkāla*) owing to the different climatic conditions obtaining there.

XII. The most conclusive evidence of the author's Tamil domicile is to be found, however, in the peculiar rhyming, adopted in the two well-known Gopī-songs, to be found in BK.X, chapters 31 and 35. In the first one, it will be found that, in 18 out of 19 stanzas, with a few variations, the second syllables of all the four lines of a stanza[4] are identical, a feature universal in Tamil prosody, but unknown to earlier Sanskrit poetry. The second song also shows the same identity of the second syllables, but here the stanza is of two lines, the lines are very long and the first and the twelfth syllables of each line, with a few exceptions are also identical. Mr. T. Rajagopalachariar has noticed[4] a similar imitation of Tamil prosody in the *Yatirājaviṃśati* of Maṇavala Mahāmuni, but the Gopī-songs appear to have escaped his notice. It is well-known that Tamil poetry, unlike her Telegu sister, has hitherto refused to yield to the charms of Sanskrit prosody.

XII. I shall close the discussion on the question of our author's domicile, with a reference to a piece of external evidence, viz., the well-known story of the birth of *bhakti* and of her sons *jñāna* and *vairāgya*,

4 *The Vaishnavite Reformers of India*, p. 107.

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narrated in the *Bhāgavata-māhātmyam* of the *Padma Purāṇ.*[5] That this story refers to a tradition about the composition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in the Dravida country, appears certain for, in verses, XII. 11. 4-5, and, again, in XII. 13. 18 of the *Bhāgavata*, we are told that the theme of the work is *bhakti* associated with *jñāna* and *vairāgya*, while the following verses actually say that *bhakti* for Vāsudeva begets both *jñāna and vairāgya*:—

वासुदेवे भगवति भक्तियोगः प्रयोजितः।
जनयत्याशु वैराग्यं ज्ञानञ्च यदहैतुकम्॥ १२।७॥
वासुदेवे भगवति भक्तियोगः प्रयोजितः।
जनयत्याशु वैराग्यं ज्ञानं यद्ब्रह्मदर्शनम्॥ ३।३२।२३॥
वासुदेवे भगवति भक्तियोगः समाहितः।
सद्यीचीनेन वैराग्यं ज्ञानञ्च जनयिष्यति॥ ४।२९।३७॥

Śrīmadbhāgavata, Vaṅgavasī ed.

Mr. Vaidya, in his paper already referred to, suggested the Dravidian domicile of the author, on the strength of the references to the holy places of the south, to the Tamil saints, and to King Malayadhvaja without, however, pressing the point.

Amar Nath Ray

5 Dr. Grierson narrates the story briefly in *JRAS.*, 1911; vide also footnote at p. 800.

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Studies in the Kauṭiliya†

V

THE DEALINGS OF A KING WITH THE MADHYAMA, UDĀSĪNA, AND THE STATAL CIRCLE

A king's dealings with the Madhyama and Udāsīna are the subject-matter of chapter 18, Bk. VII of the *Kauṭilīya*. The Madhyama is the State of medium strength and the Udāsīna the State of the greatest strength within the statal circle. The former is supposed to be situated within the first zone of the territory of the king whose dealings with him are under our consideration and the latter beyond the first zone. According to the *Kauṭilīya*, the strength of the Medium State is such that it has to help the aforesaid king and his enemy if they be allied and can help or destroy each of them when not allied, i.e., the strength of the Medium State is much greater than that of each of these two States but less than their combined resources. The Super State is the strongest power and possesses such strength that it has to take a friendly attitude when the three States mentioned above are united, and can help or destroy each of them when they are separate. In other words, its strength is less than that of the three States combined, and much greater than that of each of them singly.

With reference to the dealings of the king under our consideration (henceforth called the Central king or State) with the Madhyama (the Medium Power), the king himself, (i.e., the Madhyama), and the third and the fifth States from him are the prakṛtis, i.e., natural friends, whlie the second,

† Continued from vol. VII, p. 715.

1 See *IS.*, pt. I, pp. 9-13, and *K.*, VI, ch. 2, p. 261.

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fourth and sixth States from the same are natural enemies.[2] If the Madhyama be friendly to both the sets of kings, the Central State should be friendly to him. Should the Madhyama show no leaning to any of these two sets of kings, the Central State should take the side of his own prakṛtis (i.e., friends).

What should be done when the Madhyama attacks a real friend of the Central State.

I. (a) If, at any time, it be found that the Madhyama has come into a conflict with a really friendly king (mitrabhāvin mitra) of the sovereign of the Central State,

(i) the latter should save him

by inciting the kings who are friendly to him or are the friends of his friends, and

by causing a dissension, if possible, between the Madhyama and the kings friendly to the Madhyama.

(ii) He can also incite the other kings of the Maṇḍala (Statal circle) against the Madhyama by telling them that the latter has grown very powerful and intends to destroy all of them; and for this reason, they should combine against him and check the dangerous growth of his power. If the Central State succeeds in his endeavour to have the kings of the Maṇḍala on his side, he can bring about the ruin of the Madhyama and thus pave the way for his own progress.

(iii) If all the kings do not respond to his call, he can try to have with him only those who are inimical to the Madhyama.

(iv) There may also be some within the Maṇḍala of such a nature that if one of their group turns over to adopt a course of action, they also do so. Hence, their leader should be persuaded to join him. If one king comes over to his side, his power is doubled, and if two such do so, his power is trebled.

2 The third and fifth States are situated within the second and fourth zones from the terriotory of the king under consideration, and the second, fourth and sixth States are situated within the first, third and fifth zones from the same.

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(v) Should he fail in these attempts, he should alone help his friend attacked by the Madhyama by sending him money and army.

(vi) If there be no time left for achieving any of these purposes, and prompt action be necessary, then the sovereign of the Central State should persuade the Madhyama to enter into an alliance with him for the Madhyama's help and after obtaining this foothold, he should try to bring about a treaty between the Madhyama and the friend (i.e., of the Central State) attacked by the Madhyama, or

(vii) he can secretly win over to his side some of the dissatisfied officials of the Madhyama in order that they may cause him troubles of various kinds and thus thwart him in his hostilities against the friend of the Central State.

What should be done when a karśanīya mitra is attacked by the Madhyama.

(b) What has been said above is applicable to cases in which a mitrabhāvin mitra (real friend) of the sovereign of the Central State has been attacked by the Madhyama. If the mitra belongs to the class of karśanīya mitras, i.e., those kings who are not so staunch friends of the Central State as the mitrabhāvin mitras but who are still to be put in the category of friendly sovereigns by the nature of their attitude towards him. A reduction of the power of such friendly kings is desirable from the standpoint of the Central State and hence when a mitra of this category is attacked by the Madhyama, help will be promised to him by the vijigīṣu but it will not in fact be rendered until he has suffered losses to the desired extent.

What should be done when an ucchedanīya mitra is attacked by the Madhyama

(c) Similarly, when an ucchedanīya mitra (i.e. a king with whom a friendship in name has to be maintained on inter- statal grounds, but a serious reduction of whose power is desirable for the welfare of the vijigīṣu) is attacked by the Madhyama, then the help expected from the vijigīṣu should be extended to him at such a stage that he has already suffered losses amounting to karśana mentioned above, but not up to

3 Lit. a karśanīya mitra is a friend who should be rendered lean.

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the limit of uccheda (i.e., ruining the kingdom); because it is to the interest of the vijigīṣu not to ruin the king altogether as he is a mitra, although at present he may be so in name, and his ruin will serve to make the Madhyama more powerful, reducing by one the number of mitras of the vijigīṣu. If at the critical juncture, when the karśanīya mitra has been attacked by the Madhyama, this mitra be deserted by his mitras joining the Madhyama, then the vijigīṣu should intervene on behalf of the mitra, and enter into a treaty of peace called *puruṣāntara* with the Madhyama, stipulating that in case of need he will send him troops headed by his son and commander-in-chief for his help.

Should the hostile attitude of the vijigīṣu with a thin veneer of friendliness be detected by the ucchedanīya mitra, then he may ask other kings friendly to them to initiate active hostilities against the vijigīṣu. In such circumstances, if the kings friendly to the ucchedanīya or karśanīya mitra be powerful, then the vijigīṣu should secure his position by entering into an alliance with the Madhyama.

What may b done by the vijigīṣu when th M a d h y a m attacks (a) an enemy of the vijigīṣu, (b) a real friend of th M a d h y a m himself, (c) an enemy of the M a d h y a m himself, and (d the Udāsīna.

II. (a) If the Madhyama happens to make an attack upon a śatru (enemy) of the Central State, then the sovereign of the latter State should enter into an alliance with the Madhyama against the enemy. This will conduce to his own interest and at the same time be a matter of gratification to the Madhyama.

(b) A king who is a real friend (mitrabhāvin mitra) of the Madhyama may by some chance incur the displeasure of the latter and be attacked by him. If the vijigīṣu be interested in his welfare, then he may enter into a treaty of peace with the Madhyama on behalf of the mitrabhāvin mitra stipulating that he could help the Madhyama in times of need with troops under the leadership of his son and commander-in-chief and thus bring the conflict to an end.

(c) If the Madhyama attacks an enemy of his, then with a view to curb the growth of power of the Madhyama through

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the ruin of his enemy, he may help the enemy secretly with army and money.

(d) In case the Madhyama and the Udāsīna come into a conflict, the vijigīṣu should take the side of the king who is liked by the kings of the maṇḍala generally. The foregoing remarks also hold good if in the aforesaid circumstances, the Udāsīna be substituted for the Madhyama.

Suggestion for the guidance of a king in his dealings with the other kings of the Maṇḍala: (A) Three classes of neighbouring kings:

III. (A). According to the principles pointed out in the *Kautilīya*[4] as regulating the mutual relations of kings in a maṇḍala, the immediate neighbours of the vijigīṣu are to be looked upon as his natural enemies. Of course, there are factors by which they can be turned into friends. Broadly speaking, there are three sets of factors operating in this connection viz., (a) the rivalry, jealousy and the many causes of friction that are incidental to the existence of two States as neighbours, (b) the nature of the sovereigns who happen to be neighbours, and (c) the inducements, or deterrents of any kind that serve to convert natural enemies into artificial friends i.e. sinking down the differences that may still exist under the pressure of circumstances. The interplay of the many forces produces different resultants in the different situations. It is in view of these various complexes that all the immediate neighbours of the vijigīṣu in the maṇḍala are not put down simply as enemies. They are divided into three classes:

Aribhāvin (inimical neighbours)

(i) Those neighbouring kings who continue to be enemies to the vijigīṣu, and in whom any of the forces mentioned above have not served to effect a change in the opposite direction are called aribhāvins and include:

(a) anātmavān (without self-control)
(b) nityāpakārin (ever bent on doing harm)
(c) śatru (an enemy having weaknesses that are a matter of advantage to the vijigīṣu)

4 *K.*, VI, ch. 2.

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(d) śatrusahita (an enemy assisted by another enemy of the vijigīṣu)

(e) pārṣṇīgrāha (rear-enemy)

(f) vyasanin (an enemy subject to vyasanas)

(g) yātavya, (an enemy suitable for attack)[6]

(h) vyasane abhiyoktṛ (an enemy able to attack the vijigīṣu in vyasana).

Mitrabhāvins (friendly neighbours).

(ii) The eight kinds of kings who are called mitrabhāvins, i.e., are friendly to the vijigīṣu inspite of their position as neighbours are:

(a) ekārthābhiprayāta (out on an expedition for achieving objects of the similar natures)

(b) pṛthag arthābhiprayāta (out on an expedition for achieving object of a dissimilar nature.

(c) sambhūyayāṭrika (engaged in a combined attack)

(d) saṃhitaprayāṇika (allied in regard to an attack)[7]

(e) svārthābhiprayāta (attacking in furtherance of the interest of the vijigīṣu alone)

(f) sāmutthāyika (engaged in a combined attempt to carry out purpose other than military)

(g) kośadaṇḍayor anyatarasya kretā vikretā (hiring an army from the vijigīṣu or hiring it out to him)

(h) dvaidhībhāvika (in such a position as to have recourse to dvaidhībhāva in regard to the vijigīṣu).

Bhṛtyabhāvins (subservient neighbours).

(iii) The five classes of neighbouring kings, bhṛtyabhāvins, so called on account of their subordinate position, making them liable to carry out the dictates of the vijigīṣu are:

6 The distinctions are not clear.

7 The point of difference lies in the fact that party to the alliance may not be engaged in the actual attack, or may attack an enemy different from the one attacked by the other party to the alliance. Cf. *K.*, VII, ch. 13, p. 303.

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(a) sāmanta weak neighbour (in front) [(one who can be only on the defensive (pratighāta) when attacked by a powerful king (balavaṭah)]

(c) prativeśa (situated on either side of the territory of a king)

(d) pārṣṇīgrāha (a weak king in the rear of a strong) and

(e) daṇḍopanata (self-submitter) comprising two sub-classes viz., svayamupanata (submitting of his own accord) and prātāpopanata (made to submit through exercise of power).

It must not be supposed that a statal circle must contain all the aforesaid kinds of kings with their States adjacent to that of the vijigīṣu. The classification only names the kinds of such kings, designated according to their attitude towards the vijigīṣu and according to the special circumstances in which they happen to be at a particular time. The list is meant to enable one to determine which sort of a neighbour a king is in respect of his relation to the vijigīṣu. The names of the three classes also point to the course of action to be adopted by the vijigīṣu in his relation to any of the kinds of sovereigns comprised in each class.

(B) The kings in the second zone from the dominion of the vijigīṣu.

(B). The kings whose kingdoms are separated from that of the vijigīṣu by one zone of territories are the natural mitras (friends) of the vijigīṣu.[8] But these friends may be of different descriptions ranging from those who are friendly in name but inimical at heart to those who are friends can be grouped into three classes like the immediate neighbours as pointed out above, viz., aribhāvins, mitrabhāvins, and bhṛtyabhāvins.

It is for the existence of kings who are nominally friendly but are really inimical that such appellations as Karśanīya mitra and Ucchedanīya mitra have come into being, and

8 See *K.*, VI, ch. 2.

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measures to be taken against them have also been suggested previously.

(i) If a mitra be attacked by an enemy and is about to enter into a treaty of peace with him, the vijigīṣu should extend to him help sufficient to change his course and bring the enemy to bay.

(ii) Should a mitra grow so powerful by defeating an enemy that he becomes uncontrollable by the vijigīṣu, then an opportunity may be utilized for causing a conflict between him and one or more kings from among the two sets of his (vijigīṣu's) immediate neighbours and sovereigns of territories one apart from that of the recalcitrant mitra.

A member of this mitra's family or a wayward prince kept under surveillance may be persuaded to cause him trouble by wresting lands from his possession; or he will adopt such other means as are calculated to bring down the mitra and make him tractable.

(iii) If a mitra be so much reduced in strength (atikarśita) that he is about to make an unreserved submission to his enemy, the vijigīṣu should avert this state of things and enable him to maintain his own against the enemy; but at the same time, he should not be so imprudent as to allow him to grow too powerful for him.

(iv) When a king is found unstable in the maintenance of his alliance with other kings, and the only inducement that can lead him to join the side of the vijigīṣu or his enemy and keep him to it is money, then the vijigīṣu should give it to him to retain him on his own side.

(v) If a mitra of the vijigīṣu be found to be trying to curry favour with the latter's enemy, an attempt may be made first to alienate the mitra from the enemy and then to ruin him and afterwards the enemy.

(vi) If a mitra be indifferent towards both the vijigīṣu and his enemy then a conflict should be brought about bet-

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ween the friend and a neighbouring king. Thus worried by war, he will seek the vijigīṣu's help, which should be extended to him.

(vii) If a weak mitra of the vijigīṣu approaches both the vijigīṣu and his enemy for help in his difficulty, the vijigīṣu should give him sufficient money and army in order that his want may be removed, and he may not be put any longer to the necessity of seeking aid from the vijigīṣu's enemy.

An alternative course is to request the weak king to leave the place where he is residing and stay for the time being in another place far away from the enemy of the vijigīṣu. The purpose for such removal is to stop the said enemy's negotiations with him. Before the occupation of the temporary residence, an army under a competent person should be stationed at the site of his former residence.

(viii) The mitra, who does harm to the vijigīṣu or does not render him help in times of difficulty though he is in a position to extend to him his helping hand, should be ruined by the vijigīṣu at the opportune moment when he has been gradually attracted to repose confidence in the vijigīṣu.

(ix) Should an enemy of the vijigīṣu find an opportunity of growing in power unhampered by reason of the vyasanas (calamities) of a mitra of the vijigīṣu, an attempt should be made to check that progress by the removal of the vyasanas of the said mitra.

(x) If a mitra after growing in power owing to the vyasanas of his enemy shows signs of disaffection towards the vijigīṣu, then the vyasanas of the enemy of the mitra should be removed in order that through him the said mitra might be brought under control.

An expert politician according to the *Kauṭlīya* can thus play upon the whole gamut of the 'courses of action' and their combinations, supplementing them by sāma, dāna, bheda, and daṇḍa according to the circumstances of the

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moment, and bring about the vṛddhi (gain), kṣaya (loss), sthāna (stagnation), karśana (reduction of power), and ucchedana (ruin) of the various powers with which he has to deal in the maṇḍala. He can, by dint of his diplomacy, have his own way among the various kings and keep them under his thumb as it were by his superiority in the application of the right remedy at the right moment.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

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Early Viṣṇuism and Nārāyaṇiya Worship*

IV

The Nārāyaṇīya conception of the supreme deity.

We shall now deal with a very important point in the Nārāyaṇīya theology in regard to the nature of the manifestations of the deity and his essential character, without which its theory of emancipation cannot be properly understood. It must be remembered that in the shape in which the doctrine is presented in the Epic it has an unmistakable background of Sāṃkhya-Yoga with their technicalities.[1]

* Continued from vol. VII, p. 679.

1 The passages which indicate the close relation of the epic Sāṃkhya-Yoga and the Pañcarātra or Nārāyaṇīya system are definite and numerous. The Pañcarātra is expressly said to be *sāṃkhya-yoga-kṛta* (339, 111), and is numbered among the five co-ordinate speculative systems which include Sāṃkhya-Yoga (348, 81; 349, 1), and of which Nārāyaṇa is said to be the *niṣṭhā* or object of worship. Sāṃkhya and Yoga are again said to be *nārāyaṇa-para* (347, 87). Another passage declares the Pañcarātra to be coeval as a system with Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Veda and Pāśupata (349, 64), while Pañcarātra in 351, 23 is said to have been described after Sāṃkhya and Yoga. 'Sāṃkhya-yoga', 'Sāṃkhya-mūrti' etc. are Nārada's epithets of Nārāyaṇa, who is called 'Sāṃkhya-yoga-nidhi' in 347, 38. In 339, 23 Nārāyaṇa identifies himself with Kapila. The Ekānta-dharma is further declared to be *sāṃkhya-yogena tulyaḥ* (i.e. as good as Sāṃkhya-Yoga, but not the same). There can hardly be any doubt that in the age of the Epic (as in that of the Purāṇas generally) the dominating philosophy is Sāṃkhya-Yoga, which is here not only theistic but also even pantheistic. It is, however, not the classical Sāṃkhya-Yoga, but may be described as the *epic* Sāṃkhya-Yoga, which is a curious medley not only of two divergent systems but of unrelated and even inconsistent conceptions from other sources. A great deal of inchoate Sāṃkhya-Yoga, which was the common property of the Epic and the Purāṇas, is indeed mixed up in the Nārāyaṇīya, but, as Hopkins (*Great Epic*, p. 125) rightly points out, a great deal of what has been said is not Sāṃkhya-Yoga at all. It must be borne in mind that the

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This element has already been considered and commented upon by Grierson[2] and Hopkins;[3] we need not recapitulate it, as we are not directly concerned here with this curious medley of really extraneous and confusing philosophical matters.

Influence of Sāṃkhyan and Upaniṣadic theosophy.

There can, however, be no doubt that this, as well as the Upaniṣadic doctrine of Brahman in a somewhat modified form, greatly influenced the conception of the supreme deity in the Nārāyaṇīya. The Sāṃkhya tenets are apparent in its crude cosmology, its mystical Vyūha-doctrine as well as in its idea of the supreme deity as the Twenty-fifth Principle and as Puruṣa, in which last conception there is a residue also of the ṚgVedic and Brāhmaṇic Puruṣa. But Nārāyaṇa is also either directly identified with the Upaniṣadic neuter Brahma, or endowed with its characteristics. The Ekāntins offer *japa* to him as Brahma and are said to attain the state of Brahma (*brahma-bhāva*, 336, 36 and 50). The Citra-śikhaṇḍins also contemplated on the neuter Brahma before they compiled the Śāstra. To Nārada the character of this deity, who is *avyakta-yoni* (344, 2), is described as:

yat tat sūkṣmam avijñeyam avyaktam acalaṃ dhruvam|
indriyair indriyārthaiś ca sarva-bhūtaiś ca varjitam||

A similar description occurs in 339, 21-23, which practically paraphrases Upaniṣadic phraseology:[4]

Nārāyaṇīya episode forms a part of the Mokṣa-dharma Sub-parvan of the Epic, which consists of lectures on various philosophical doctrines; of these, a somewhat fluid Sāṃkhya- Yoga is expressly named as one, and others are strangely combined with it. Thus in xii, 218, 6-11, Pañcaśikha, who is described as a Kāpileya sage, is also called Pañcarātra-viśārada and a teacher of the Pañcarātra system (see Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 144), although his scheme is not the same as that of the Nārāyaṇīya.

2 *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 255f; "Bhakti-mārga" in *ERE*, p. 543.

3 *Great Epic*, pp. 101f.

4 Also see 351, 9-10. The abode of Nārāyaṇa is described in 343, 59, after the Upaniṣads, as the realm where the sun does not warm, the moon does not shine, the air does not blow etc.

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na dṛśyaś cakṣuṣā yo'sau na spṛśyaḥ sparśanena ca|
na ghreyaś caiva gandhena rasena ca vivarjitaḥ||

The unmanifest and manifest forms of the deity, how discernible.

In other words, this is the unmanifest (*avyakta*) Brahma.[5] But he can also be manifest or *vyakta*. The unmanifest is never attainable; but the manifest in its illusory or emanated forms is visible to *tapas* and *yoga*, aided by *bhakti*. This difference between the *vyakta* and the *avyakta* forms of the deity[6] explains the apparent puzzle of the two forms of Nārāyaṇa, the one performing austerities and the other residing at Śvetadvīpa. The ascetic Nārāyaṇa is presumably the illusory *vyakta* form, who supplies the information to Nārada that his real *prakṛti* or *avyakta* presence, discernible through *bhakti* alone, is at Śvetadvīpa.

The Ekāntins, as well as Nara-Nārāyaṇa, as manifest images of the unmanifest form.

In this respect the Ekāntins who worship the deity are also illusory images or copies and possess the same *lakṣaṇas*. It is not surprising, therefore, that Nārada, on his return from Śvetadvīpa, should find that the ascetics Nara and Nārāyaṇa are also marked by the same *lakṣaṇas* or supernatural attributes as the Ekāntins and the deity Nārāyaṇa-Hari himself, as he reveals himself to Nārada at Śvetadvīpa. Nārada exclaims (343, 49):

yair lakṣaṇair upetaḥ sa harir avyakta-rūpa-dhṛk|
tair lakṣaṇair upetau hi vyakta-rūpa-dharau yuvāṃ||

but he explains the puzzle himself by the qualifying phrases *vyakta-rūpa* and *avyakta-rūpa*, although the *avyakta* in itself, like Brahman, is unknowable. In the same way he finds

5 It is characteristic of the confused philosophy of the Epic and its somewhat fluid terminology that in the next verse (339, 24) Nārāyaṇa is also the actionless Puruṣa, who is described as the Twenty-fifth Principle of the Saṃkhya-Yoga. See Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 134 note. The term *avyakta* also implies the Sāṃkhya Avyakta (=Prakṛti or Pradhāna). Technical precision or consistency of ideas must not be expected in an epic account, which seldom conforms to the exact terminology of a systematic theology.

6 Thus Vyaktāvyakta is an epithet of Nārāyaṇa in Nārada's address (336, 4).

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Nara and Nārāyaṇa possessed of the same strange *lakṣaṇas* which characterise the Ekāntins, viz., a head like an umbrella, a voice deep as thunder, sixty teeth, eight tusks and four *muṣkas*. In another passage (348, 66) the god of the Ekāntins is described, like the Ekāntins themselves, as white (*śveta*) and possessing the radiance of the moon (*candrābha*).

This appearance of the deity in two or more forms, we are told, is due to his *māyā* or illusion. To Nārada the god confides (339, 44) that his real *avyakta* presence is unknowable (*na vijñeyam*)[7] and that it becomes knowable when it assumes form (*rūpavā iti dṛśyate*), adding further that this happens through his *māyā* (*māyā hyeṣā mayā sṛṣṭā yan mām paśyasi nārada*). This is offered as the explanation of the revelation of Nārāyaṇa's cosmic form (*viśvarūpa*, 339, 1) to Nārada, like that of Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna. And yet a subtle distinction is maintained between this theophanic form at Śvetadvīpa and the manifest form as the ascetic Nārāyaṇa at Badarī. There may or may not be any point in Rönnow's comparison[8] of these theophanies to the Buddhist conception of Buddha's *sambhoga-kāya*, the heavenly form, which is discernible to "the divine eye" (*Bhagavadgītā* xi, 8); while the *vyakta*

This appearance of the deity in two or more forms is due to his Māyā.

7 In the phraseology of the Vyūha-doctrine this should correspond to the Kṣetrajña or Vāsudeva presence, while his Vyakta form, which was seen by Nārada at Śvetadvīpa and sometimes by Brahmā (340, 91), should be parallel to the Aniruddha presence of the deity. In 343, 6 we are expressly told that Nārada did not see the highest Kṣetrajña form of the deity but his Aniruddha form at the Śvetadvīpa theophany; and yet Nārada declares this form to be identical that with of the ascetic Nārāyaṇa at Badarī. If that were so, one may wonder why Nārada took so much pains to journey from Badarī to Śvetadvīpa at all. It would seem, therefore, that between the Vyakta form of Nārāyaṇa at Badarī and the Avyakta form of Nārāyaṇa at Śvetadvīpa, a subtle distinction is implied; but it is clear that both the forms are due Māyā. Possibly the distinction is only in degree and not in kind.

8 *Op. cit.*, p. 274.

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forms as ascetic Nārāyaṇa or warrior Kṛṣṇa[9] would correspond to the *nirmāṇa-kāya*, the earthly body, which he is able to exchange at will for his divine presence. At any rate, these appearances are not his *satya-kāya* or real form, which is unknowable. They are due to illusion or *māyā* and are temporary illusory personifications, differing probably in degree only, of the unmanifest being.[10] The influence of the Upaniṣadic doctrine and of inchoate Vedānta on this conception is clear; but while the idea of a featureless, intangible divine essence is thus theoretically maintained, it becomes practically unimportant in a popular religion which centres round the emotional worship of a vivid personal god.

The mystical vyūha-forms of the deity.

This scheme of illusory formation or copy must be distinguished from the theories of Emanation and Manifestation (Vyūha and Prādurbhāva) respectively, which are also revealed to Nārada at Śvetadvīpa. The highly mystical Vyūha doctrine is taught in detail in 339, 24-41, but it is also referred to in many passages throughout the narrative (339, 72-74; 340, 28f: 341, 13-17; 344, 14f; 347, 18f; 348, 2-3 and 57-58; 351, 12f). It is somewhat difficult to set forth the dogma clearly from the rather incoherent and clumsy account in the Epic with its indefinite and complicated phraseology; but the main outlines are clear.[11] The Upaniṣadic Absolute is conceived as a personal god, who is really and infinitely qualified by an infinity of blessed attributes, and who is the summit of all existence, the inward

9 But with this distinction that Kṛṣṇa is regarded as a Prādurbhāva or incarnation, which Nārāyaṇa at Badarī was apparently not.

10 One of Nārada's epithets of Nārāyaṇa is *mahā-māyā-dhara* (338, 4). In the *Bhagavadgītā* (vii, 14-25) Māyā is *daivī* (divine) and *guṇamayī* (consisting of the three Guṇas), but it is also an *ātma-māyā* of the deity. See Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 138f.

11 We follow here the excellent summary given by Barnett in his English translation of the *Bhagavadgītā*, pp. 52-55 (Introduction). The table with slight modification is taken from it. For later and still more complicated development of the dogma, see Schrader, *Introduction to the Pañcarātra*, pp. 35f.

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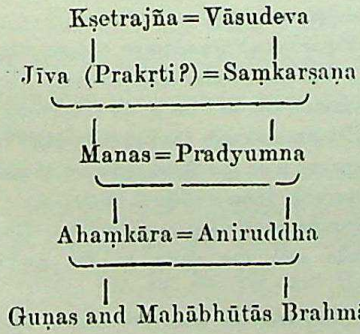
ruler (*antaryāmin*) as well as the inspirer of the real universe. He is variously named, either descriptively as Puruṣa (the Cosmic Man), Paramātman (the Supreme Self), Iśvara (the Lord), Kṣetrajña (the Field-Knower),[12] or by sectarian titles such as Nārāyaṇa, Hari, Vāsudeva or Viṣṇu. A theism which ascribes the actual production, preservation and destruction of the world to a divine first cause is incongrously mixed with elements from orthodox philosophy (chiefly inchoate Sāṃkhya), on the one hand, and with popular myths, on the other. Two real categories of Matter and plurality of Souls appear to be admitted as identical in their origin with the Supreme Spirit, but as emerging into successive emanations. The universe is supposed to evolve from the Supreme Being in two parallel and graduated orders, apparently a physical order of material causation and a spiritual order of planes of conditioned spirit,—which are named *vyūhas* or series. The process has been represented thus:[13]

The process of Vyūhas or successive emanations,



12 [The word *kṣetrajña* does not appear to have been used in philosophical literature before the *Svetāśvatara Up.* vi, 16 (*kṣetrajñapatiḥ*), and *Maitrāyaṇī Up.* ii, 5, where it apparently designates Brahman. It is, of course, used in the *Bhagavadgītā* xiii, 1f, where it appears to signify Jīvātman or the conditioned soul, pantheistically conceived as dwelling in matter. In the latter work the word has no connexion with any direct or implied Vyūha doctrine. The word has perhaps nothing to do with the Vedic *kṣetrasya patiḥ*; see *Nirukta* x, 14-15.—S.K.D.]

13 The accounts in the text are somewhat scrappy and confusing. They may be summarised as follows:

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a curious combination of philosophical and mythical ideas.

The process is curious, its amalgamation of dogma and myth making it all the more mystical. While the one series is modelled somewhat incongruously on the Sāṃkhya scheme, the other is named after the elder brother, the son and the grandson respectively of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa as successive emanations. At the summit stand the Kṣetrajña or "the Field-knower", identified with Vāsudeva, and this is probably the unconditioned (*nirguṇātmaka*) Paramātman or Supreme Self. It is difficult to explain the subsequent evolution in exact terminology, but it seems that the Cosmic Jīva, which springs from the Kṣetrajña, is equivalent to the primal indiscrete Prakṛti or Matter of Sāṃkhya. It corresponds to a phase of conditioned spirit called Saṃkarṣaṇa,

(i) 339, 25f. Vāsudeva = Paramātman = Kṣetrajña—Saṃkarṣaṇa = Jīva—Pradyumna = Manas = Sanatkumāra—Aniruddha = Ahaṃkāra. The Kṣetrajña is also called Puruṣa and the Twenty-fifth Principle.

(ii) 339, 72-74. The fourth form (i.e. Kṣetrajña)—Saṃkarṣaṇa—Pradyumna—Aniruddha—Brahmā.

(iii) 340, 28f. Mahāpuruṣa = Paramātman ("according to Sāṃkhya—Yoga")—Avyakta = Pradhāna—Aniruddha = Mahān Ātmā = Ahaṃkāra—Brahmā, Pañcabhūtas and Guṇas. In śl. 75 Nārāyaṇa declares that he is Kṣetrajña. In śl. 91 Brahmā sees the supreme deity in the Aniruddha form (apparently because it is the form from which Brahmā himself is born and which is the only form visible to him).

(iv) 341, 13-17. Nārāyaṇa—Prakṛti—Aniruddha—Brahmā.

(v) 343, 6. Nārada sees the deity in the Aniruddha form at Śvetadvīpa.

(vi) 344, 14f. The emancipated souls are said to pass in this order: Sūrya, where Nārāyaṇa resides as the door (reduced to paramāṇu)—Aniruddha (transformed into Manas)—Pradyumna—Saṃkarṣaṇa = Jīva—Vāsudeva or Kṣetrajña.

(vii) 347, 17f. Primeval darkness—Brahma (neuter)—Puruṣa = Aniruddha = Pradhāna = Avyakta. Then Viṣvaksena-Hari, yielding to Yoga-sleep, lays himself down on the water thinking of creation. From him arise in order: Ahaṃkāra—Brahmā Hiraṇyagarbha Pitāmaha, who takes birth within the lotus from Aniruddha.

(viii) 351, 12f. The supreme deity is spoken of as Paramātman or Ekātman (see Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 143, note 1) and as sporting in his four forms.

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which is probably the primal motive force. From a combination of these two spring, on the one hand, the cosmic Manas, apparently the Buddhi of Sāṃkhya, and a second phase of conditioned spirit called Pradyumna. From a union of these two, again, springs a tertiary parallel pair of physical and spiritual orders, called Ahaṃkāra and Aniruddha respectively. The next stage is the evolution, from a union of these, of the Sāṃkhyan Mahābhūtas or Elements (with their Guṇas), whose dispensation of the material world is guided by Brahmā.

The importance of the theory in the Nārāyaṇīya theology

Whatever may be the rational explanation of this somewhat obscure dogma, it is clearly laid down that Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, along with Vāsudeva, are the four *vyūhas*, forms or successive emanations, of the supreme deity, who is therefore described as *catur-mūrti-dhara*, or as sporting in fourfold form (*catur vibhaktaḥ krīḍati*, 351, 22).[14] In 348, 57 we are told that the god is worshipped by some under one emanation (*eka-vyūha*, i.e. Aniruddha),[15] by some under two (*dvi-vyūha*, i.e. Aniruddha and Pradyumna), by some under three (*tri-vyūha*, i.e. Aniruddha, Pradyumna and Saṃkarṣaṇa), and by some again under all the four. But this, as Nīlakaṇṭha points out, may be due to the capacity of the worshipper (*adhikāra-tāratamyena*). The god *par excellence* is *catur-mūrti-dhara* and should be conceived as such. The four forms are declared (351, 12) to be beyond thought (*acintya*) possessing subtle significance (*bhāva-sukṣma*). The description is not inapt, but it is hardly possible to consider this abstruse result as a system of philosophy. It is noteworthy, however, that while the *Bhagavadgītā* ignores

but the doctrine is ignored in the Bhagavadgītā.

14 These must, of course, be distinguished (see above) from the four illusory forms, viz., Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa and Hari.

15 This emanated form alone is attainable by Bhakti, while the other forms are presumably unknowable.

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the theory of successive emanations,[16] the Nārāyaṇīya exalts it to such a cardinal doctrine that the whole system, which is revealed to Nārada, is designated by the term Kṣetrajña (*kṣetrajña-saṃjñitaḥ*, 343, 52), which term also occurs as one of the epithets of the supreme divinity in Nārada's prose hymn.

Its connexion with Nārāyaṇīya eschatology.

Whatever philosophical value may be discovered in this special modification of theism which admits a fourfold form of the deity and relates it to cosmic processes, it is interesting to us from its connexion with the Nārāyaṇīya eschatology, which determines the stages and processes through which the emancipated souls pass into divine bliss. The procedure is somewhat circumstantial. It appears (344, 14f) that some souls, after their release, enter the sun (Āditya) as the door, at whose centre apparently Nārāyaṇa resides.[17] From there consumed and made into supremely subtle entities (*paramāṇubhūtāḥ*) they enter Aniruddha. Thence, as mental entities or as pure minds (*manobhūtāḥ*) they pass into Pradyumna. From Pradyumna they go (in what form or with what modification, we are not told) to Saṃkarṣaṇa, who is Jīva. Such people are "the best Brāhmans (*vipra-*

16 [Some such doctrine may have been implied in the reference to *mahad-brahma* in *Bhagavadgītā* xiv, 3, and to *kūṭastha puruṣa* in xv, 16f. The Kūṭastha Puruṣa, set above the perishable (Kṣara) and the imperishable (Akṣara), may be equivalent to the Kṣetrajña as the highest self; but Mahad-Brahma is apparently the primal matter (Avyakta or Pradhāna), and does not correspond to the Brahmā of the Vyūha-theory, although it is connected with *bhūtāni*. These may have been later developed as regular Pañcarātra doctrines (cf. *JRAS*, 1929, p. 128); but they have hardly any connexion with the Nārāyaṇīya Vyūha-theory.—S.K.D.]

17 [This passing of the cleansed souls through the sun-door may have something to do with Nārāyaṇa's identification with Viṣṇu as the solar deity; but probably the idea was old and traditional. In *Muṇḍaka Up.* i, 2, 5-6 the duly proffered oblations are said to become the rays of the sun and lead the sacrificer to the god of gods through these rays.—S.K.D.]

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pravarāḥ), the Sāṃkhyas and the Bhāgavatas"[18] (344, 17). Finally, casting off at this elevation, all elements of material being (*traiguṇya-hīnāḥ*), they enter the *nirguṇa* Kṣetrajña or Vāsudeva, but they also live in everlasting bliss. For the ordinary good people, such as those mentioned above, the three stages of Aniruddha—Pradyumna—Saṃkarṣaṇa emancipation are prescribed as a preparation for the final passing into Vāsudeva; but the Ekāntin or the ideal devotee reaches the Kṣetrajña or Vāsudeva at once without going through the three stages (348, 2-6). This way of the Ekāntins is said to be better than that attained by the Brāhmans who study the Vedas with the Upaniṣads, and by Yatis.

The Nārāyaṇīya idea of final emancipation.

The idea of final entrance into the deity does not appear to be the total absorption taught by orthodox philosophy. The emancipated souls are, no doubt, said to enter the deity in his Vāsudeva presence (*viśanti*, 336, 29; 339, 20, 49 and 129; 344, 19), which corresponds to the philosophic Paramātman;[19] but they are also described as dwelling in bliss with the deity (*ramate*), presumably in his Aniruddha form, and worshipping him as Ekāntins or White Men in his paradise at Śvetadvīpa. In all this, however, stress is laid on the doctrine that the deliverance may be found through knowledge or austerities, but above all there must be the spirit of exclusive loving devotion (*ekānta-bhakti*) to a personal god, without which all knowledge or austerity is useless. This is called the way of devotion (*bhakti-gati*) attained by the best of the four kinds of devotees (339, 130), and it is the way beloved of Nārāyaṇa.

18 It should be noted that for the Bhāgavatas, who are classed in this respect with the Sāṃkhyas and orthodox priests, emancipation is differently prescribed from that of the Pañcarātra worshippers of Nārāyaṇa.

19 They are said to attain Brahmahood in 336, 50, as we have already noted.

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Deliverance through Bhakti and Prasāda.

It is further asserted that the grace of the god, obtained through such *bhakti*, may even find what is hidden from the sage and the ascetic; and the idea of grace (*prasāda*) connected with religious devotion, appears to be fully acknowledged in the Nārāyaṇīya. This doctrine of spiritual election is nowhere expressly taught; but we are told that he alone is awakened who is looked upon by Nārāyaṇa and that no one is awakened by his own will (348, 75). It is the grace of Nārāyaṇa alone, induced by *bhakti*, which enables one to see him in one of his emanated forms (336, 20), for the devotee is dear to him (343, 54). Nārada obtains it for *ekānta-darśana* (338, 4; 339, 12, 13 and 107; 343, 24; 344, 7), but it was denied to Bṛhaspati and to the three ascetics whose austerities and acts of sacrifice were of no avail.

The Prādurbhāvas or manifestations of the deity.

The Vyūha doctrine of creative emanation described above must be distinguished from the more definite theory of Prādurbhāva or Manifestation which, side by side, is taught specially to Nārada, and which is a fundamental tenet in the Epic and Purāṇic religion in general.[20] The immaterial Vyūha-forms cannot be properly called incarnations or manifestations which are more or less definite material appearances, descents or birth. The theory of Incarnation as a principle of popular religion (and not as a mere doctrine of the theologist) presupposes the recognition of the supreme god as the creator and upholder (in a somewhat deistic fashion) not only of the cosmic order but also of the moral order of the world. This is expressed by the phrases "for the good of all beings" (*sarva-bhūta-hitāya*, 339, 76), "for purposes of action in the world" (*loka-kāryārtham*, 339, 100 and 103) and "relieving the burden of the world" (*bhārāvataraṇaṃ pṛthivyāḥ*, 339, 101; 349, 33). In wordings similar to the much quoted verse of the *Bhagavadgītā* iv, 8

20 See Jacobi, article on "Incarnation (Indian)" in *ERE*, vii, pp. 193f.

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(*paritrāṇāya sādhūnāṃ vināśāya ca duṣkṛtām*), we have the expression: *nigraheṇa ca pāpānāṃ sādhūnāṃ pragraheṇa ca* (349, 34), which recognises the principle underlying the whole conception.[21] It is worthy of note that the incarnations of Nārāyaṇa are called here *prādurbhāvas*, 'manifestations', instead of *avatāras*, which later on becomes the regular term. The term *prādurbhāva* probably implies that the god continues to exist in his true unmanifest presence, although he manifests himself at the same time in definite forms (*rūpāṇi*, 349, 37) for particular purposes, presumably through his yoga-powers (*mahā-yogin*, 349, 17; also *yogena* in *śl.* 23). But the idea involved in the term *avatāra* seems to be that either the whole (*pūrṇāvatāra*) or a part (*aṃśāvatāra*) of the divine essence is imagined to descend from heaven, taking a particular form (*mūrti*) or birth (*janma*). The Prādurbhāvas, therefore, may be, as originally conceived, infinite in number. Indeed, in iii, 12, 28 we are told of "thousands" of divine manifestations (*prādurbhāva*), while numberless acts of manifestation are referred to in iii, 102, 25 (*evamādīni karmāṇī yeṣāṃ saṃkhyā na vidyate*), which gives also a good small list of the definite ones. After enumerating in detail some of his own Prādurbhāvas, Nārāyaṇa tells Nārada (339, 106) that his previous excellent manifestations are many (*atikrāntāś ca bahavaḥ prādurbhāvā mamottamāḥ*), although they are perhaps not all heard of

A Prādurbhāva and an Avatāra.

21 A curious myth is told (349, 17f) in this connection. Nārāyaṇa ordered Brahmā to create diverse beings, both wise and stupid, probably in accordance with the principle already enunciated that the diverse ways of the world are meant to give interest and variety to creation. Greatly puzzled, Brahmā pleaded that he had not the requisite wisdom, whereupon Nārāyaṇa thought of Buddhi or Intelligence, who at Nārāyaṇa's direction entered Brahmā. But when, as a consequence, the earth became loaded with creatures whose pride and power became a menace to the gods and sages, Nārāyaṇa perceived that he must come to relieve the burden of the earth by punishing the wicked and supporting the righteous. Thus the long series of Prādurbhāvas began.

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or recorded by tradition (*purāṇeṣu śrutās te yadi na kvacit*). But the tendency of theological speculation has been not only to fix the number, but also to define them clearly in relation to the occasion and the purpose.[22]

The Nārāyaṇīya list of Prādurbhāvas.

In the Nārāyaṇīya, Nārāyaṇa predicts to Nārada (339, 77-102) that he shall manifest himself as the Boar, the Man-lion, the Dwarf, Paraśurāma, Dāśarathi-rāma, Sātvata (or Kṛṣṇa) and Kalki (Kalkin), to which an immediately following passage adds (339, 103-4) a fuller list including the Swan (Haṃsa, the Sun-bird?), the Tortoise and the Fish. The Prādurbhāvas mentioned in 349, 37 are the Boar, the Man-lion, and the Dwarf-man. Some of these manifestations are obviously shaped out of older cosmogonic or mythological ideas and must have formed a part of current belief; but others, like Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, which have a popular as well as a speculative aspect, must have grown out of local legends and came to possess more practical importance in popular religion as the greatest and the most perfect manifestations in an epic setting. The tale of the mythical incarnations of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva, repeated again and again through the ages, must have assumed a new interest when it was finally embodied in that of semi-human incarnations like Rāma or Kṛṣṇa; for it brought out more vividly before popu-

22 [There is no doubt that the idea of incarnation is ancient, and Hertel may be right in shewing (*Die Sonne und Mithra*, pp. 69, 79) that it belonged to primitive Aryan thought. Its anticipations may also be sought in the Brāhmaṇic doctrine of Bandhutā, but it is not expressly set forth in Vedic or Brāhmaṇic literature. The idea of divine potency manifesting itself in certain associated objects may be taken as a stage of thought preparatory to a theory of incarnation, but it hardly indicates the same reasoned view of the universe. Hopkins is, therefore, probably right in stating that the doctrine of incarnation is still developing even in the Epic itself, though its fundamental idea appears to have been fully established. It was neither stereotyped into the usual ten, nor yet extended to the twenty-four of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, much less to the thirty-nine of later Pañcarātra Saṃhitās.—S.K.D.]

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lar imagination the idea of the service of man and could not fail to awaken a responsive affection.[23]

The Nārāyaṇīya reconcilation of action (pravṛtti) and inaction (nivṛtti).

We have had an occasion to state before that although the Nārāyaṇīya religion owes its substance and inspiration to popular beliefs and sentiments, it is yet influenced and shaped a great deal by Brāhmaṇic theological ideas, and that therefore it lays some stress on *pravṛtti* or activity in sacrificial deeds, inspite of its exaltation of *bhakti* as the only means of salvation. There is a chapter (ch. 340) in which the question of the relative value of *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti* is raised; but this chapter, along with the two following ones which deal with the fanciful etymology of the various names of the deity and other irrelevant matters, is really a digression and does hardly form an integral part of the narrative. It was probably inserted with a more or less definite object of reconciling the claims of *pravṛtti*, and this suspicion is strengthened by the intrusion in one verse of a distinctly clear Gītā-doctrine of *phala-kāma* (desire for the fruits of action), of which there is no trace elsewhere in the Nārāyaṇīya. Here the supreme deity is the Bhagavat in the character of Viṣṇu, and not Nārāyaṇa; and there is a direct

23 The later Bhāgavata or Pañcarātra dogma of fivefold manifestation of the deity in his Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, Antaryāmin and Arcā forms absorbs the older doctrines of Māyā, Vyūha and Prādurbhāva of the Nārāyaṇīya theology. The Para form is the supreme Bhagavat himself, and the Vyūha forms of later theory includes the usual four evolved forms of Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. The Vibhava forms are secondary manifestations, which are, again, fivefold, viz., Pūrṇa-avatāra (complete incarnation), Aṃśa-avatāra (major partial incarnation), Śakti-avatāra (incarnation in might, e.g. Śiva as a form of the Lord), Kāla-avatāra (minor partial incarnation, e.g. Paraśurāma) and Vibhūti or Kārya-avatāra (incarnation for a purpose, e.g. the Mohinī at the Churning of the Ocean). The Antaryāmin form conceives the deity as the inward ruler in all beings. The Arcā forms are also regarded as (temporary) incarnations of the deity for purposes of worship, e.g. in the idol or image after consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*). See Grierson in *IA*, 1908, p. 273, footnote, and more fully in *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 624-29.

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reference (342, 77-70) to the etymology of the names Sātvata and Kṛṣṇa. Nevertheless, the discussion is significant, for it makes the conclusion probable that the Nārāyaṇīya faith leans a great deal towards *pravṛtti*,[24] inconsistent as it apparently is with its fundamental tenet of personal meditation and adoration; and the whole object of the chapter is to find a justification of this tendency, which was probably more developed than original. The question is raised as to why the Bhagavat, who has himself laid down the rules of *nivṛtti* or inaction, should have instituted the ritual of sacrifice, and created gods who partake of offerings and thereby approve of *pravṛtti* or action; while others of a contrary mind follow the rule of inaction. The answer is furnished, first of all, by the story of a great sacrifice, a Vaiṣṇava Kratu, performed in the Kṛta-age by the gods and the primeval sages in accordance with Vedic rules (*veda-dṛṣṭena vidhinā*) at the direction of the Bhagavat himself. Pleased with it, the Bhagavat gives them the privilege of enjoying the fruits of sacrifice characterised by *pravṛtti*. Strengthened by these fruits, they will tend the world and strengthen the god himself. After this appeal to consecrated authority and tradition, a further reason is furnished by the suggestion that different creatures are intended for different purposes in this world, some for action and some for inaction. Thus arose two sets of teachers and two types of religion to impart variety and interest to the universe; but the divergent practices and beliefs still proclaim Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu as the supreme object of adoration. The first school, headed by the seven mind-born Prakṛtis, the original Citra-śikhaṇḍins, viz., Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and

The leaning towards *pravṛtti*.

24 Elsewhere it is said: *pravṛtti-lakṣaṇaṃ dharmam ṛṣir nārāyaṇo 'bravīt*, xii, 217, 2; *pravṛtti-lakṣaṇaś caiva dharmo nārāyaṇātmakaḥ*, xii 347, 83. In 339, 67 Nārāyaṇa praises and recommends Nivṛtti but calls it *nirvāṇaṃ sarva-dharmāṇām*. In 340, 8 the Mokṣa-dharma (apparently = the Upaniṣadic Nivṛtti) is described as *brahma-nirvāṇa*.

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Vaśiṣṭha, consisted of orthodox ritualists, teachers of the Vedas (*vedācāryāḥ*) and of action (*pravṛtti-dharmiṇaḥ*); while the second school, led by the seven mind-born sons of Brahmā, viz., Sana, Sanatsujāta, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra, Kapila and Sanātana, constituted the exponents of Sāṃkhya-yoga (*yoga-vido mukhyāḥ sāṃkhya-jñāna-viśāradāḥ*) and apostles of inaction (*nivṛttiṃ dharmam āsthitāḥ*).

This stress on *pravṛtti* is in conscious opposition to the *nivṛtti* of the Aupaniṣadas and the Sāṃkhyas.

The last reference to Sāṃkhya-Yoga and to the Upaniṣadic teachers like Sanatkumāra is interesting. In inculcating a doctrine of activity in orthodox ritualism, a conscious opposition to the meditative inactivity of the Aupaniṣadas and Sāṃkhyas is clearly indicated.[25] But the Nārāyaṇīya does not go so far as the *Bhagavadgītā* in making out a comprehensive scheme of including all acts (and not merely sacrificial duties) and sanctifying them with a theory of desireless action. The Nārāyaṇīya merely refrains from rejecting sacrificial duties as such and inculcates their merit up to a certain point; it does not think of reconciling them philosophically with a higher conception of inactivity. The more popular attitude, which admits indiscriminately various and even conflicting elements without much internal connexion or justification, is thus evident in the Nārāyaṇīya. It lays down complacently (340, 88) that the Vedas, sacrifice (*yajña*), austerities (*tapas*), truth (*satya*), non-injury to beings (*ahiṃsā*), self-control (*dama*) should be the elements of a good religion, although all these must be subordinated to *bhakti*. These virtues are also recognised separately in the *Bhagavadgītā* as well as in the Epic in general; but in the *Gītā* their place is properly defined in a more or less definite theoretical scheme.

The most important characteristic in this respect is the direct forbidding of animal sacrifice in the Nārayaṇīya

25 Barnett, *Hindu Gods and Heroes*, p. 86.

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The doctrine of Ahiṃsā emphasised.

and the inculcation of the doctrine of Ahiṃsā which has since become a fundamental tenet in all Vaiṣṇava sects. It is not necessary to refer this ethical doctrine in the Epic to the influence of Jainism or Buddhism; for respect for animal life or kindness to dumb creatures may have been a popular trait, of which the Jaina or Buddhistic doctrine itself was possibly one of the many expressions.[26] In most early Indian beliefs which have a popular character, non-injury to animals as a doctrine is more or less present, and it may have independently developed. As a sumptuary measure meat-eating or slaughtering of animals is not rare in the Epic itself, and as a sacrificial measure its forbidding is pointless, unless it is due, not to any inherent repugnance to killing but to a gradual and widespread popular feeling of kindness for the helpless sacrificial beasts. The dispute between the gods and the sages over animal and vegetable sacrifice, recorded in the Nārāyaṇīya legend of Uparicara-Vasu (ch. 337), is interesting from this point of view. It is a clear indication of the ultimate victory of Ahiṃsā as a belief, which has now even the venerable sages, if not the selfish gods, as its serious partisans. In the *Bhagavadgītā* Ahiṃsā is mentioned as a laudable virtue and as a *śārīra tapas*,[27] bodily penance, (x, 5; xiii, 7; xvi, 2; xvii, 14); but it is out of the question that the Bhagavat should insist on this doctrine to Arjuna on

26 Even in the Brāhmaṇas we find the indication of a mild aversion to the beast-sacrifice by the gradual introduction of proxy sacrifices. It may have been the result, as Hopkins suggests (*Religions of India*, pp. 119-120), of a growing belief in the doctrine of Karma and rebirth in animal form; and the question of expense on the part of the laity, which probably led the substitution of smaller and cheaper animals, may have ultimately led to their abolition. In early Brāhmaṇical literature Ahiṃsā is also directly inculcated, although it is not clear that the word is in every case (e.g. *Chāndogya Up.* iii, 17, 4) to be interpreted in the specific sense of non-killing of animals. See Hopkins, *Ethics of India*, pp. 165-166.

27 as also in *Mbh.* xii, 217, 17.

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the battle-field; and to the Gītā-theory of desireless action, as well as of the immortality of the self, the distinction between injury and non-injury in itself is immaterial. It is remarkable, therefore, that while Ahiṃsā as a religious attitude is practically ignored in the *Bhagavadgītā*, it is insisted upon in the Nārāyaṇīya both by legend and precept (340, 82);[28] and in this respect, later Vaiṣṇava faiths follow the Nārāyaṇīya rule.

The independe character and origin of the Nārāyaṇīya fait

In the brief and imperfect sketch of the Nārāyaṇīya system given above, we have made an attempt to indicate the surroundings out of which the Nārāyaṇīya faith emerges and the essentially popular character of its theology. The result of a mutual compromise with the orthodox Brāhmaṇical religion is evident, but its direct connexion with the complex body of popular myths, legends and beliefs cannot be denied. We have also discussed incidentally how this system, agreeing on the fundamental tenet of *bhakti*, *diverges* in many essentials and particulars from the Bhāgavata or Sātvata faith, represented in the *Bhagavadgītā*. Its popular legendary character probably indicates a different source. Its conception of the personal god, his paradise and his devotees is a curious combination of myth and speculation, of which there is not much trace in the more coherent teachings of the *Bhagavadgītā*. There is some resemblance between the theophanies and apocalypses of the Nārāyaṇīya and the *Bhagavadgītā* respectively, but even if it is shewn that the one had been modelled on the other, it is no proof of the identity of the two systems, and they are also conceived somewhat differently. Again, the Vyūha doctrine, even if it is known, is not given a place in the Bhāgavata scheme. The theory

28 This verse says that in the Kṛta-Age sacrificial animals should not be slain, and that in the Tretā-Age consecrated animals alone will be slain in the sacrifice. But nothing is said about the other Yugas.

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of incarnation, which is general in the Epic, finds expression in both the systems; but the Nārāyaṇīya dwells more on it as a cardinal tenet than the *Bhagavadgītā*.[29] The ways of action and inaction are not reconciled or developed on the same lines in the two systems. The *Bhagavadgītā* ignores the Ahiṃsā doctrine, though Ahiṃsā is extolled as a virtue; but the Nārāyaṇīya assigns an unmistakable importance to it. The eschatology is not the same; and the process of emancipation for the Bhāgavatas is declared in a significant passage in the Nārāyaṇīya to be different from that of the Pañcarātra worshippers of Nārāyaṇa in his Vyūha forms. In spite of many obvious points of agreement, these are indeed important differences. They are enough to justify the presumption that even if the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Epic be shewn to be later in date (of which there is, however, no direct or satisfactory proof), it is probably earlier in substance than the *Bhagavadgītā*, and it most likely embodies an earlier and somewhat different tradition of beliefs and sentiments.

Not originally identical with the Sātvata or Bhāgavata faith

We have referred to the attempts made in the text itself to bring the Nārāyaṇīya theology into a line with the Bhāgavata teaching and to declare vaguely their identity as systems; but these attempts are clearly of a slight and artificial character and need not be exaggerated. The testimony adduced above seems, on the contrary, to warrant the assumption that the Nārāyaṇīya sets forth a body of beliefs, sentiments and fancies, which must have developed independently, but which ultimately flowed into the same stream of sectarian faith and came to be identified (when earlier distinctive outlines were lost, forgotten or were of no account) with other closely analogous *bhakti*-systems which

29 Nārada tells us (343, 52) that the most cardinal doctrines of the teaching which he received from Nārāyaṇa were those relating to the Kṣetrajña (i.e. the Vyūha) and the Prādurbhāva theory.

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had probably also their independent origin and development. We have also noticed its connexion with Viṣṇuism, but here also the connexion is not organic. Nārāyaṇa is, no doubt, credited with the names and attributes of the much older Viṣṇu, the purātana deva (iii, 142, 17), but there is no serious attempt to make this or even the express identifications in passages like 343, 20, appear convincing. It looks as if the identification was of a longer standing and (as it is throughout the Epic) accepted implicity; but Viṣṇu, like Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, does not play any distinctive role in the Nārāyaṇīya.[30] It is curious that in the long digression on the etymology of the names of the godhead, the name of Viṣṇu is not considered at all, although fanciful etymologies are suggested for the names Sātvata, Kṛṣṇa and Vāsudeva.[31] The elusive epic Viṣṇuism is present here, but it is hardly of any importance. The attempt to identify the Nārāyaṇīya faith with Sātvata Bhāgavatism, or Nārāyaṇa with Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, is still less convincing, both from the legendary as well as from the doctrinal points of view.[32] Unlike Nārā-

nor with Viṣṇuism, although the epic identifications appear to be established by a peculiar syncretism of beliefs.

30 The name Viṣṇu occurs three times in the *Bhagavadgītā*. In x, 21 the Bhagavat claims to be "Viṣṇu among the Ādityas", while in the same breath he calls himself "Saṅkara among the Rudras." Twice again Arjuna in his beatific vision addresses the Bhagavat as Viṣṇu. R.G. Bhandarkar is of opinion that this is a context in which Arjuna may well be reminded of the sun-god. This need not prove that the identification, as W.D.P. Hill (*Bhagavadgītā*, 1928, p. 25) maintains, was of recent origin; on the contrary, it may show that it was so well established that to stress it was thought hardly necessary. The identification, however, is quite clear, here as elsewhere, especially as the theophanic form is described as bearing the emblems of Viṣṇu (*kirīṭinaṃ gadinaṃ cakriṇaṃ ca*, etc.).

31 The names Sātvata and Kṛṣṇa are considered, but etymologies suggested are too fanciful to be real.

32 An attempt is made in a curious myth (*Mbh*, i, 197, 32-33) to connect the Kṛṣṇa-incarnation bodily with Nārāyaṇa. Implored by the gods to save the earth from the burden of the wicked, Nārāyaṇa is said to have plucked two of his hairs, one black and the other white.

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yaṇa, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa is presented as a definite incarnation, and we have seen that the teaching of the two systems, even though drawn together by a peculiar syncretism of beliefs, are not the same in detail.

MRINAL DASGUPTA

Descending to the earth and entering the womb of Devakī the former was born as Kṛṣṇa and the latter as Ba'adeva.

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The Gupta Era

The confused nature of the chronology of ancient Indian History makes it very difficult to reconcile Brāhmanic, Buddhist or Jaina traditions, with inscriptional evidences and Chinese accounts. Besides, the uncertainty of identifying the eras in which inscriptions are sometimes dated only adds to the confusion.

In view of this unsettled state of things, when in 1887, Dr. Fleet fixed the epoch of the Gupta Era at 319-20 A.D. it came as a great relief to historians as giving them something definite to go upon. As Vincent Smith said, "A great step in advance was gained by Fleet's determination of the Gupta era, which had been the subject of much wild conjecture. His demonstration that the year 1 of that era is A.D. 319-20, fixed the chronological position of a most important dynasty, and reduced chaos to order." And further "most of the difficulties which continued to embarrass the chronology of the Gupta period, even after the announcement of Fleet's discovery in 1887, have been removed by M. Sylvain Lévi's publication of the synchronism of Samudra Gupta with King Meghavarṇa of Ceylon *c.* A.D. 352-79". But despite this enthusiastic view, it must be confessed that the reconstruction of ancient Indian Chronology on Dr. Fleet's basis has gone definitely against Indian traditions, Chinese accounts and inscriptional evidences. In fact, Fleet's hypothesis creates more difficulties than it solves. Some very notable instances are mentioned below:

(1) Hiuen Tsang's (A.D. 629-648) statement that Mihirakula and therefore Narasiṃha Gupta Bālāditya and Yaśodharman flourished *several centuries* before his time has got to be rejected, if we accept Fleet's date.

(2) I-Tsing (A.D. 671-695) mentions a great king Śrī Gupta who built a temple near Mṛgaśikhavana for some Chinese pilgrims remarkable for their piety. This temple, the ruins of which were still known in I-Tsing's time as the 'Temple of China', was endowed by the king with twenty-four large villages. The foundation of the temple took place about five hundred years before the writer's time, i.e., about 170

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A.D. This statement cannot be reconciled with Fleet's determination of the Gupta era, because according to Fleet's calculation, no Gupta King as lord of Pāṭaliputra could exist about that time.

(3) Hāla, the Andhra king who is placed about A.D. 50 by tradition mentions Vikramāditya in his *Gāthā Saptaśati*. If this Vikramāditya be identified with Candragupta II whose date of accession is, according to Fleet, about 380 A.D., then the above tradition has to be rejected.

(4) The beautiful *terra cotta* medallion found by Marshall at Bhita near Allahabad depicts a scene exclusive to the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam* of Kālidāsa. Vogel and others state that the medallion must belong to the Suṅga period (1st century B.C.). But according to Fleet, Kālidāsa has to be placed in the fourth century A.D. as a court poet of Candragupta II Vikramāditya, who is placed, on Fleet's hypothesis, in A.D. 380. This late dating of Kālidāsa is contrary to Indian tradition.

These difficulties have led me to examine the whole question of ancient Indian Chronology afresh, and I proceed to give a short résumé of my investigations in this matter.

Varāhamihira mentions in his *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* that king Yudhiṣṭhira was ruling the earth 2556 years before the Śaka Kāla. This Śaka Kāla will be found to refer to the Śākya or Buddha Kāla of 546 B.C. Therefore the time of Yudhiṣṭhira was (2556+546) or 3102 B.C., exactly tallying with the universal Indian tradition of the commencement of the Kali Yuga. The Buddha era no longer exists in India as a Śaka (Śākya) Kāla; but in Cambodia and the Far East it is still in use as the Buddha Śaka Kāla as pointed out by Finot (in the *BEFEO*, vol. XVII, 1917).

Incidentally it may be remarked that the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II is dated in Śaka year 556(=A.D. 634) and Kali Yuga year 3735(=A.D. 634) from which it is clear that the date of the Bharata war is identical with the beginning of the Kali era.[1]

1 त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाहवादितः सप्ताब्दशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु पञ्चाशत्सु कलौकाले षट्सु पञ्चशतासु च समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम्। *IA.*, VIII, p. 242.

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Now let us see how far Fleet was correct in his astronomical verification of the Gupta epoch. We shall first examine the inscriptions dated in the twelve year cycle of Jupiter coupled with the concurrent date of the Gupta era. According to all the Hindu astronomers Jupiter's years are complete when through his mean motion he moves over one sign, i.e., 30 degrees '(बृहस्पतेर्मध्यमराशिभोगात् संवत्सरं सांहितिका वदन्ति।" Bhāskara). They also distinctly state that the solar year exceeds in duration the Jovian year.

With Fleet's hypothetical epoch Mr. Sh. B. Dixit could not get the name of the Jovian year corresponding to the supposed equivalent date of the Gupta year, on the mean sign system. So Dixit went over the unequal space divisions of the Nakṣatras. But even then he could not get results tallying with the inscriptions. He then assumed the Jovian year to be equivalent to the synodic period of Jupiter (399 days) which, every one knows, is about 34 days more than the solar year. This was an unwarranted assumption in view of the express statements by all the Hindu astronomers that Jupiter's years are shorter by more than four days than one solar year. The sidereal period of Jupiter being 4332·58 days (i.e. 11·86 years), he moves over one sign in 4332·58 or 361·0 days. With these wrong assumptions Fleet with the help of Dixit could make some of the names of the Jovian years tally with the Gupta dates. But with his assumed epoch when he came to the other Gupta inscriptions giving the week days or mentioning an eclipse, he was a total failure as will presently be seen.

There are four inscriptions of Mahārāja Hastin and his son Saṃkṣobha for the current Gupta years 156, 173, 191 and 209, i.e., the elapsed years 155, 172, 190 and 208. Assuming that the Gupta era is identical with the Vikrama era (which will be proved later on in this paper) these Gupta or Vikrama years are respectively equivalent to Śaka years 19, 36, 54, and 72 elapsed (= A.D. 97, 114, 132 and 150). Astronomical calculations for the mean longitudes of Jupiter in A.D. 97, 114, 132 and 150 in the beginning of luni-solar Caitra yield longitudes 222°, 17°, 204° and 29° respectively from the Hindu Initial point. The name of the Jovian year when Jupiter lies within 30° from the Hindu initial point is called Mahā Aśvayuja, and so on. Therefore the names of the

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Jovian years in those years should be Mahā-vaiśakha, Mahā-Aśvayuja, Mahā-Caitra and Mahā-Aśvayuja respectively exactly as in the inscriptions. Cunningham also in his *Indian Eras* makes the first three dates Mahā-Vaiśākha, Mahā-Āśvina and Mahā-Caitra respectively exactly as in the inscriptions. For the last date A.D. 150 (=Śaka 72), Cunningham gives Mahā-Kārtika, as against Mahā Aśvayuja. But we see that in his Table A.D. 139 was Mahā-Kārtika, the next year A.D. 140 is recorded as Mahā-Pauṣa, omitting Mahā-Mārgaśīrsa that year. If this had not been done that year, A.D. 150 would have shown Mahā Aśvayuja exactly as in the inscription.

Now I take up the Eran inscription of Budhagupta of 'the year 165, the month of Aṣāḍha, on Thursday, the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight'. This being the current Gupta or Vikrama year is equivalent to A.D. 107=Kaliyuga year 3208. Kaliyuga year 3208 elapsed =(365·2586×3208) or 1171749·85 days. The Julian day number of the epoch of the Kali yuga era (3102 B.C., 18th of February)=588466. Therefore the Julian day number of the initial day of solar Vaiśākha in K.Y. 3208=(1171749·85+588466) or 1760215·85 days, equivalent to March 17·85 days A.D. 107. The solar months of Vaiśākha and Jyaiṣṭha=62·34 days. This brings us to the 19th of May for the first day of solar Āṣāḍha. Now the initial day of the luni-solar year (lunar Caitra) was Thursday the 11th of March in A.D. 107. (This is correctly given in Cunningham's *Indian Eras*). Now on the 71st day from this we have a śukla-dvādaśī. This brings us to Thursday, the 20th of May, A.D. 107, which day we find was the 2nd day of solar Āṣāḍha and the week day was Thursday exactly as in the inscription.

In the Koh grant of Mahārāja Saṃkṣobha of the year 209, the month of Caitra, for the lunar day 13 of the bright fortnight the date given is the 29th day of solar Caitra. Now this being the current Vikrama year is equivalent to A.D. 150-151. But as the month was Caitra it was A.D. 151. The Julian day number of the initial day of solar Vaiśākha in K.Y. 3252 (=A.D. 151)=1776287·48, equivalent to March 19·48 days in A.D. 151. The solar month of Caitra=30.37 days. Therefore the 29th of solar Caitra was the 17th of March, A.D. 151. Now full-moon fore *śuklā-trayodaśī* began on the 17th of March and this we find was

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also the 29th day of solar Caitra, exactly as in the inscription. With Fleet's epoch the assumed date (19th of March, A.D. 528) was neither the 29th day of solar Caitra, nor the 27th as emended by him. In the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, pp. 379 ff. Fleet therefore remarked "..... I think that the value of the second numerical symbol must be corrected once more, and no matter what may be suggested at first sight by the value of similar symbols elsewhere, must be finally fixed at 8, i.e., the (civil) day 28." The reader must have to read the second symbol as 8, through his imagination, for so Dr. Fleet commands in order to conform to his pet theory.

Lastly I come to the Morvi grant of Jainka from Kathiawad on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun in 'Gupta year 585 expired, the 5th solar day of the month of Phālguna'. This is the most important inscription for the verification of the beginning of the Gupta era. Now Vikrama year 585 expired = A.D. 528/29. But as the month was Phālguna (Jan.-Feb.) it was no longer A.D. 528 but A.D. 529.

Now A.D. 529 = Kaliyuga year 3630 elapsed. The length of the Hindu solar year = 365·25876 days. Therefore 3630 years = (3630 × 365·25876) or 1325889·28 days. Now the Julian day number of the epoch of the Kali yuga era (18th of February, 3102 B.C.) is 588466. Therefore the Julian day number of the initial day of the Kali year 3630 elapsed = (588466 + 1325889·28) or 1914355·28 equivalent to 21st of March, A.D. 529. Thus the last day of solar Caitra being the 21st of March and knowing that the Hindu solar months of Phālguna and Caitra = 60.2 days, the 5th day of Phālguna comes out to be the 25th of January, A.D. 529. Now on looking up to astronomical tables giving the dates of the eclipse of the sun we find that in A.D. 529 there was an eclipse of the sun on the 25th of January, Greenwhich Civil Time of conjunction in longitude being 23 h. 18m. This eclipse was total and ended on the earth generally in Greenwich Civil Time about 2 A.M. or in Ujjayini Civil Time about 7 A.M. in the morning. But owing to the effects of parallax this eclipse was not visible from India.[2]

2 The calculations may be verified from the Tables of Julian day number given in the *Nautical Almanacs*, Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, Theodore von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finstermisse* and Prof. Dr. P. V. Neugebaver's *Astronomische Chronologie* (Berlin).

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There are instances of grants being made on the occasion of an eclipse though the same may not be visible from the particular locality. The above calculation proves conclusively that *the Gupta era is identical with the Vikrama era and began from 58 B.C.* Fleet as well as Cunningham with their supposed epochs of the Gupta era and the resulting dates could get no eclipse in Phālguna. They therefore had to assume that the charter was perhaps dated several months before or after the eclipse but such an assumption is unwarranted. Fleet's conclusion about the beginning of the Gupta era is therefore incorrect.

Thus we see very clearly that the (Candra) Gupta (I Vikramāditya) era = (Candragupta I) Vikrama (āditya) era and started from 58 B.C.

A few historical facts also support my contention, e.g., Mihirakula's father, Toramana's inscription is dated in the year 52. This must then be in the Śaka era, equivalent to (52+78) or A.D. 130 (=V.S. 188). Bhānugupta is mentioned in the Eran inscription of Goparāja of the Gupta year 191 who was a contemporary of Mihirakula. Therefore we find very clearly that *the Gupta era is identical with the Vikrama Saṃvat.*

Fleet made the Gupta era identical with the Valabhi era and therefore made the Kṛta or Mālava era identical with the Vikrama era thus making the interval between the Gupta and Kṛta eras one of (318+58) or 376 years. Now knowing the Gupta era to be identical with the Vikrama era, we find that the earlier Śrī Harṣa era mentioned by Al-beruni the starting point of which is exactly 400 years before the Vikrama era must be identical with the Kṛta, or Mālava era. Hence the Mandasor inscription of Yasodharman Viṣṇuvardhana dated in Kṛta year 589 where Mihirakula's defeat is described, must be dated in Gupta or Vikrama Samvat (589−400) or 189, just two years prior to Bhānugupta's date (G.E. 191).

"Vasumitra flourishing during the reign of the son of Kanishka is expressly distinguished from the other Vasumitra the President of the Fourth Council, as well as from a younger namesake living in the 6th or the 7th century, a disciple of Guṇamati". We know that Aśvaghoṣa, Vasumitra, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, etc. were contemporaries, Āryadeva and Nāgārjuna being the younger contemporaries. Āryadeva was the

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rector at Nalanda during the reign of the Gupta monarch Candragupta. Kern on the assumption of the correctness of Fleet's determination of the Gupta era threw doubts on this statement! "It cannot be true that Deva or at least this Deva was rector at Nalanda during the reign of the Gupta king Candragupta." But if the Gupta era is the same as the Vikrama Samvat, the account is quite justified. Thus we see that the early Kushans, the Imperial Guptas and the above mentioned Buddhist Ācāryas belonged to the same period. Hence *Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi*, a title characteristic of the Kushan kings—whom Samudragupta defeated as depicted in his Allahabad *Praśasti* must be *Kaṇiṣka*, while Samudragupta was the crown prince. "Traditions of Kaṇiṣka's conflict with the rulers of Pāṭaliputra and Soked are preserved by the Tibetan and Chinese writers". Hence the Vikrama era was started from the accession of Candragupta I Vikramāditya in 58 B.C. Kaṇiṣka and his descendants began to use the Saṃvat of Vikramāditya. It will be my attempt in future to show that the dates of many historical events which have so far baffled the calculations of historians on the basis of Fleet's determination of the Gupta era are accurate and tally with the contemporary events.

I now append a table of the dates of the Gupta inscriptions on the basis of my determination of the Gupta Era with the hope that the historians will verify them and point out the inaccuracies, if any.

Vijayagaḍh inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana, Kṛta year 428=V.S. 28= 31 B.C.

Naravarman's Mandasor inscription, ,, ,, 461=V.S. or G.E. 61=A.D. 3

Gaṅgdhar inscription of Viśvavarman, ,, ,, 480=V.S. or G.E. 80=A.D. 22

Udayagiri inscription of Candragupta II, ,, ,, G.E. 82=V.S. 82=A.D. 24

Gadhwa inscription, ... G.E. or V.S. 88=A.D. 30

Sāñci inscription, ... G.E. or V.S. 93=A.D. 35

Mandasor inscription, Kṛta year 493=G.E. or V.S. 93=A.D. 35

Kumāragupta, Bilsar inscription, ,, ,, ,, 96= ,, 38

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Gadhwa inscription, ,, ,, ,, 98= ,, 40
Mankuwar inscription, ,, ,, ,, 106= ,, 48
Mathura and Natore inscription, ,, ,, ,, 113= ,, 55
Tumain inscription, ,, ,, ,, 116= ,, 58
Bhavadi inscription, ,, ,, ,, 117= ,, 59
Karamadande inscription, ,, ,, ,, 117= ,, 59
Mandasor inscription of Govindagupta, Mālava year 524=G.E. or V.S. 124=A.D. 66
Dāmodarpur plates, G.E. or V.S. 124, 129=A.D. 66, 71
Mankuwar inscr., ,, ,, 129 :. ,, 71
Mandasor inscr. of Bandhuvarman, Kṛta year 529=G.E. 129=A.D. 71
Skandagupta, Junāgaḍh inscr.,
G.E. or V.S. 136, 137, 138=A.D. 78, 79, 80
Kosam (Kauśambī) inscr.,
,, 139 =A.D. 81
Kahaon inscr., ,, 141 = ,, 83
Indore inscr., ,, 146 = ,, 88
Gadhwa inscr., ,, 148 = ,, 90
Buddhagupta, Sārnāth inscr.,
,, 156 = ,, 98
Pali inscr., ,, 158 = ,, 100
Buddhagupta's inscription,
,, 165 = ,, 107
Tathāgatagupta .....
Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana, Mandasor inscr., Kṛta year 589=G.E. or V.S. 189=A.D. 131
Goparāja's Eran inscr., Kṛta year G.E. or V.S. 191=A.D. 133.

DHIRENDRA NATH MUKHERJEE

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A Buddhist Manuscript at Gilgit*

The note published by Sir Aurel Stein in the *Statesman* of Calcutta and, later on, in the *JRAS.* (1931, October) and in the *IA.* (1932, March) on the *Archæological Discoveries in the Hindukush* created a stir in the world of Buddhist scholars. In October last, the authorities of the Calcutta University realising its importance wished that a preliminary survey of the manuscripts found at Gilgit should be made, and requested the authorities in the Kashmir State to give me the necessary facilities to examine them. The communal trouble was just then at an ebb; so I ventured to proceed to Srinagar, where I was very kindly received by Sir Zafar Ali Khan, who gladly complied with the request of the Calcutta University by giving me a week's time to examine the mss. As most of the mss. were still lying at Gilgit, an almost unapproachable place in October and November, I had to satisfy myself with the examination of five mss. that had been brought to Srinagar.

Introductory

The manuscripts are all in a bad condition and damaged in many places. Two of the manuscripts are incomplete, while the remaining nearly complete. They are all written on birch-bark in Gupta characters of the 5th or 6th century A.D. in the calligraphic style, and the characters have in many cases similarity with those of the Bower Manuscript and of the Inscription of Yaśodharman.

The first manuscript, that has been examined by me and of which I propose to give here a detailed summary, contains 41 leaves and is entitled the *Ajitasena-vyākaraṇa-nirdeśa-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra.* From

* This article contians valuable information collected from a class of finds examined by an Indian scholar for the first time. My best thanks are due to Sir Zafar Ali Khan, a lover of Indian culture, for giving the writer the necessary facilities, and also to my friend Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., Bar-at-law, Fellow of the Calcutta University, for taking the initiative to enable the writer to ascertain details about the Mss.—Editor.

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the colophon it appears that the present ms. was written by one Ārya Sthirabuddhi with the help of the dharma-bhāṇaka Narendradatta. The only clue to the date of the ms. is the palæographic evidence supplied by its characters, which can be dated in the 5th century A.D. at the earliest.

The importance of the ms. lies in its (a) language, (b) the light thrown by it on the Aṅga (division of Buddhist literature) called *Vyākaraṇa*, (c) the form of Buddhism, envisaged by its contents, and (d) the whereabouts of the Arhat Nandimitra.

In language and style, it bears a close resemblance to the *Lalitavistara*. Like this work it relates an incident or gives a prayer first in easy and correct Sanskrit and then repeats it in broken Sanskrit, called the Gāthā dialect by the late savant Dr. R. L. Mitra. The shortening of vowels, indiscriminate use of *u* in word-endings, disregard of grammar, contraction of words for the exigencies of metre are as frequent as we find in the gāthā portions of the *Lalitavistara* and other *Mahāyāna* works.

The treatise is undoubtedly a Mahāyāna-sūtra but it represents, as I have said in my *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism* (pp. 36-38), the semi-Mahāyānic form of Buddhism. The reason for this opinion will be found in the fact that the *Sūtra* contains only an edifying story admonishing the people to give alms to the Buddhist monks, develop faith in Buddha as the saviour of mankind, and thereby attain Buddhahood in all its glory. In the story, there is clearly an admixture of both the Hīnayānic and Mahāyānic ideals. It will be seen at page 107 that the king's son who attained Arhathood was capable of visualizing all the Buddhakṣetras. The conception of innumerable Buddhas presiding over their respective Buddhakṣetras is foreign to the Hīnayānists, while Arhathood has no place in the spiritual stages of the Mahāyānists. The admixture of the two conceptions appears to me to indicate the stage of Buddhism in which Hīnayāna was just incorporating the Mahāyānic ideals without, however, its philosophy of *Dharmaśūnyatā;* or in other words, when the *Pāramitās* only were being included in the ethical code of the Hīnayānists.

On account of its frequent references to the infinite virtues of Buddha, the immeasurable merit acquired through gifts to monks and

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the inconceivable suffering caused by refraining from making such gifts, it can be called a Mahāyāna-sūtra of the Mahāvaipulya class.

Of the 9 or 12 divisions (*aṅgas*) of the Buddhist literature it shows, both by its title and contents, that it belongs to the division called *Vyākaraṇa*. So far the Buddhist scholars as also Buddhaghosa were not quite sure as to which portions of the *Tripiṭaka* should be placed under the *Vyākaraṇa* class. Buddhaghosa, probably quite unaware of the existence of a literature to which the present ms. belonged, said that the whole of the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, all *suttas* in which there are no verses, and all other *Buddhavacanas* not included in the remaining eight divisions should be called Veyyākaraṇa (*Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, p. 24). An interpretation like this seems on the face of it a laboured one. The Mahāyānic interpretation of the *Vyākaraṇa* division of literature is more to the point. According to it, the sūtras like the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, *Samādhirāja*, and *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* come under the *Vyākaraṇa* class (see *Aspects of Māhāyāna Buddhism*, p. 9). All our doubts, however, about the *Vyākaraṇa* class of Buddhist literature are set at rest by the present ms. It shows that those *Sūtras*, the chief object of which is to make a prophecy about the attainment of Buddhahood by one or more devotees, belongs to the *Vyākaraṇa* class. In this sense, the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātakas* may well be called a *Vyākaraṇa* as it relates the story of Sumedha Brāhmaṇa, and the prophecy made by Dīpaṅkara Buddha about his future appearance as the Buddha Śākyamuni. The sixth and ninth chapters entitled the *Vyākaraṇaparivarta* and the eighth chapter *Pañcabhikṣuśatavyākaraṇaparivarta* of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* is distinctly of the *Vyākaraṇa* type, and the same may also be said of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* which depicts the career of Sudhana until his attainment of Buddhahood, he having been foretold on many occasions about the certainty of his ultimately becoming a Buddha. (See also *Śatasāhasrikā*, p. 309).

Of other matters of religious interest, I may refer to the mention of the infinite merits acquired by those who read, preach and preserve the present treatise along with the anathema pronounced upon its revilers or destroyers,[1] and to the mention of the begging-bell, the head-

1 Such anathemas are also given in other Mahāyāna treatises, e.g., in the

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dress, and the custom of assembling monks by striking a gong. The last mentioned practice is still found in many Buddhist countries. At Chittagong, there is still to be found the practice of carrying a bell (of bell-metal) by a śramaṇa accompanying a bhikṣu while going on the begging rounds. The practice of carrying a stick with small bells is noticed among certain non-Buddhist ascetics of the present day. The head-dress, I surmise, was sanctioned specially for the monks living in cold countries like Kashmir.

Of particular importance are the principal figures of the story, king Ajitasena and his spiritual guide Nandimitra, and the name of the capital of Ajitasena.

Mr. Watters supplies us with some information about Nandimitra from the Chinese work: *Ta A-lo-han Nan-ti-mi-to-lo so-shuo fa-chu-chi* (The record of the duration of the Law, spoken by the great Arhat Nandimitra) (*JRAS.*, 1898, p. 331). This has been supplemented by a fuller account given by Profs. Sylvani Lévi and Eduard Chavannes in their paper: *Les Seize Arhat Protecteurs de la Loi* (published in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1916, pp. 5ff.) which gives the French translation of the important portions of the Chinese text.

In the Introduction to the Chinese book, the following information is given about the author Nandimitra:

800 years after the *Parinirvāṇa* of Buddha there was in the capital of Sheng-chün (勝 軍) in the Chih-shih-tzu (執 師 子) country an arhat called Nandimitra. He had obtained the eight *vimuktis* (vimokṣas?), three *vidyās* and six *abhijñas*. He was free from impurities (araṇā), could know the aims and objects (*praṇidhijñāna*) (of beings), and had obtained the highest *samāpatti*. He had a great spiritual power which spread his fame far and wide. By the power of his *Praṇidhijñāna*, he could ascertain the feelings and actions of all living beings of the world. When his rebirth and its cause had terminated, and he was going to attain Parinirvāṇa he collected all the monks and nuns, and recounted to them the great merits realised by him personally and all that he had done for the benefit and joy of living beings.

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, pp. 226, 268, 337, 386, 414 etc., *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, pp. 181 ff; *Lalitavistara*, pp. 88-89; *Kāśyapa-parivarta*, pp. 226 ff.

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He then told them that he would be no more, and asked them to put questions in order to remove their doubts. At this, the monks and nuns began to lament and one of them spoke out thus,

"The Buddha Bhagavā has long since entered into Nirvāṇa, the five disciples of his also are gone. The world is now void of any true leader. At present you are the only Venerable who are the eyes of gods and men. Why should you wish to have your turn to abandon us. Have pity on us and live some time more".

Nandimitra consoled them saying, "It is not proper for you to weep, O good men, you know the law of the world that whatever is born must have decay. The Buddhas who had vanquished the four demons and who possessed the power to fix the length of their lives conformed to the laws of the world and realised Nirvāṇa. How it will benefit you if I live permanently. Suppose I comply with your request, it will not be of any profit to you. You should understand it and not be sorry."

On hearing this they all began to weep more. After some time they said, "We do not know how long yet the most excellent Law of Bhagavā Śākyamuni will last?"

The Venerable said, "Listen attentively, the Tathāgata has already preached the sacred *sūtra* on the duration of the Law."

Then he told them briefly how Buddha Bhagavā had entrusted the most excellent Law to sixteen great Arhats and their followers and asked them to protect it so that it might not be destroyed.[1]

Schiefner in his *Geschichte des Buddhismus* (p. 62) mentions one Nandamitra as a bhikṣu who realised the Truth when Aśvagupta was in charge of the Teaching at Pāṭaliputra and when a son of king Kanishka was ruling at Puṣkalāvatī, while the Tibetan work *dPag. bsam. ljon. bzaṅ* (pp. 48, 51) mentions one *dgaḥ-baḥi bśes-gñen* restored by Mr. S. C. Das as Ānandamitra (by Profs. Lévi and Chavannes as Nandimitra), and relates the cause of the disappearance of the excellent religion (*bstan. pa. nub. pāḥi rgyu. ni*).

The present treatise furnishes us with a clue to the identification of the Mahāśrāvaka Nandimitra with the Nandimitra of the Chinese work. In the latter, it is stated that the Arhat Nandimitra lived in

1 See *JA.*, 1916, pp. 6-10.

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a garden in the capital of king Sheng-Chün (勝 軍) in the Chih-shih-tzu (執 師 子) country. Watters was not very confident about the restoration from the Chinese words *Sheng* and *Chün*. Following Nanjio he suggested either Prasenajit or Jayasena, for *Sheng* means "to conquer, to get the victory" while *Chün* means "army, troops" (Williams, *Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*), and he preferred the first, as the name is well-known in the Buddhist history. Profs. Lévi and Chavannes, in the absence of any other known name, accepted his suggestion (*JA.*, 1916, p. 27-28). The present ms. throws some light on this doubtful restoration. The two Chinese words may be restored as Jayasena or Ajitasena, though strictly for *Ajita* we should expect in Chinese the two additional letters preceding *sheng*, viz., *wu-neng* 無能 Ajitasena may not be an historical person, but the fact that his name is associated with Nandimitra may be taken as a valid reason for restoring Sheng-chün as Ajitasena.

Now let us examine the restoration of the name of the capital of Jayasena or Ajitasena where Nandimitra lived. In Chinese it is called *Chih-shih-tzu* and is located in Magadha. It is a pity that the ms. does not give the Sanskrit name of the capital. Mr. Watters rightly suggested (though in the fn., see *JRAS.*, 1898, p. 332) that it should be restored as Simhadvīpa, but as no town of importance is known by this name, he hesitatingly followed Nanjio's suggestion that it meant Simhaladvīpa, i.e. Ceylon, but he was inclined to look for a place of this name within Magadha and he traced also one in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* (*Bhaiṣajyavastu*, Tok. XVII, 4, 29b, col. 17), where Buddha once stopped on his way from Śrāvastī to Rājagṛha. Profs. Lévi and Chavannes preferred Simhala (Ceylon)[1] and adduced reasons for the same, without seriously minding the anomaly presented by the time, place and name of the king. The present ms. proves clearly that one should take Watters' suggestion, viz., that Chih-shih-tzu referred to a place, known as Simhadvīpa or by some such name in Magadha situated between Śrāvastī and Rājagṛha, for in the ms. also we see that Buddha was at Śrāvastī and asked Nandimitra to go eastwards to Magadha to convert Ajitasena and his son.

1 "L' indication geographique est plus precise; le royaume de Tche-che-tseu est certainement Ceylon"—*JA.*, 1916, p. 27.

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Our object therefore should be to look for a place in or near Maṅgadha having *siṃha* as a part of its name. A careful study of the *Mahāvaṃsa* yields very interesting results. The ancient name of Ceylon as given in the *Mahāvaṃsa* is either Tambapaṇṇi or Laṅkā, and nowhere do we find mention of Siṃhala. The introductory verse of chapter ix of the *Dīpavaṃsa*,[1] if literally translated, would be: "there was the Laṅkādīpa (inhabited by) the Sīhala people so called after *sīha*. The story of the conversion of Ceylon which is as follows also shows that Ceylon was originally called Laṅkādīpa but later on came to be known as Siṃhala after the Sīhala people of eastern India.

There was the king of Vaṅga in the city of Vaṅga in the kingdom of Vaṅga. He made the daughter of the king of Kaliṅga his queen. She lost herself in the forest of Lāḷaraṭṭha, and lived with a lion. She had a son and a daughter called respectively Sīhabāhu and Sīhasīvali. After some time she returned to Vaṅga with her children. Her son Sīhabāhu was offered the throne of Vaṅga for killing the lion. He accepted it but gave it away to the 'husband of his mother'. He took his sister and went back to the forest of his birth and bulit a city called Sīhapura and the kingdom reclaimed by him from forests was known as Lāḷaraṭṭha.[2] His eldest son was Vijaya who colonised Ceylon. He gave the new name Tambapaṇṇi-dīpa to the place which had hitherto been known as Laṅkādīpa. The people who accompanied him were called Sīhalas as they were connected with the king Sīhabāhu who received the appellation of Sīhala for killing the lion.

This story clearly shows that Sīhabāhu, father of Vijaya, had nothing to do with Ceylon. His capital was called Sīhapura and the people of his realm the Sīhalas. The Chinese words *Chih-shih-tzu* may well, therefore, refer to this Sīhapura. Dr. P. C. Bagchi suggests that *Chih-shih-tzu* should literally mean "one who holds the lion" from

1 Laṅkādīpo ayam ahū sīhena sīhalā iti.

2 *Mahāvaṃsa*, vi, 34, 35:

So rajjaṃ sampaṭicchitvā datvā *mātupatissa taṃ*
Sīhasīvalim ādāya *jāti-bhūmiṃ* gato sayaṃ.
Nagaraṃ tattha māpesi, āhu Sīhapuram ti taṃ
....
Lāḷaraṭṭhe pure tasmiṃ Sīhabāhu narādhipo

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chih meaning "to hold," and *shih* the "lion," i.e., in Sanskrit it should be Siṃhadhara. It will be seen in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (vii, 42) that Sīhala is also derived exactly in the same way, viz., because of Sīhabāhu catching the lion, he was called the Sīhalo (*Sīhabāhunarindo so sīhaṃ ādiṇṇavā ti Sīhalo*). Mr. Watters and Profs. Lévi and Chavannes, I think, would not object if *Chih-shih-tzu* be restored as Sīhala and identified with a place in Magadha, I mean, Sīhapura of the *Mahāvaṃsa* tradition. Unless and until some positive evidence is found about the historicity of the town, it may be treated as a town known in legends and fiction, and though the Chinese travellers mention it, that does not go to prove its historicity. The fact is that the faithful Buddhists of the early Christian eras knew some place in or near Magadha as Sīhapura without probably knowing its exact location. In the *Mahāvastu*,[1] Siṃhapura is in one place located in Kaliṅga and elsewhere it is treated as a capital as prosperous as Hastināpura and not very far from it. A previous Śākyamuni Buddha is said to have entered the town of Siṃhapura for alms and thereby had converted many. In the *Cetiya Jātaka* (No. 422) Sīhapura, Hatthipura etc. were said to be cities founded by sons of the king of Ceti. All these evidences tend to show that the Chinese words Chih-shih-tzu, the dwelling place of Nandimitra, referred to Sīhala or Sīhapura near Magadha. It may therefore be concluded that the ancient name of Ceylon was Laṅkadīpa or Tambapaṇṇi-dīpa but the people of the country were called Sīhalas (Simhalese) after the name of the conquering people who accompanied Vijaya.

Nandimitra's dread for the city of Ajitasena and unwillingness to go there is quite interesting. It also points to a border country of Magadha, people of which place were rough and evidently were not in favour of Buddhism. (See page 104).

King Ajitasena, as we have already hinted, was a mere local chief, and as such, his name was not of sufficient importance as to find place in history. If we rely on the bare name, we may identify him with the Ajitasenarājā mentioned in the *Mahāvastu* (I, p. 170) who is said to have attained the ninth *Bhūmi*. In the *Record of the Duration of the*

1 *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 95; III, pp. 238, 432.

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Law preached by Nandimitra one Ajita is mentioned as the fifteenth Arhat to guard the Law. His place of residence was at Gṛdhrakūṭa (Rājagṛha).

I have not so far been able to trace any Tibetan version of the present ms., but I hope some scholars will find it out after going through this summary and will enlighten me about it.

Summary of the contents of the ms.

Salutation to the Omniscient! Thus have I heard. Once Bhagavā was dwelling at Śrāvastī in the hermitage of Anāthapiṇḍada with a large congregation of monks, 12500 in number, viz., Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra, Vakkula, Śāriputra, Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya, Mahānāma, Revata and others. Then to him, while at Jetavana, came a large number of Bodhisattvas, viz., Anikṣiptadhūra, Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta and such other 32000 Bodhisattvas, and after saluting him, they stood on one side.

After putting on his morning robe Bhagavā wanted to enter into the great city of Śrāvastī for alms. He asked Ānanda to fetch his alms-bowl, begging-bell and head dress which were at once brought to him. Ananda then addressed to him, with folded hands, the following verses:

यदा त्वं प्रविशसि पिण्डपातिक
विमोचयेयं हि प्राणिनाम
उत्तारयेयं वहवं हि सत्वा
नरकभयजातिजरामरणभय-
संसारदुःखकलिलमहाभयात्
विमोचयेयं तदा.....
महानुभावि वरदक्षिणेयो
विमोचयित्वा वहव हि सत्त्वा
संसारदुःखकलिलमहाभयाः

[When you will enter (into a city) as a collector of alms, you will rescue many beings from fear of hell, birth, old age, and death and from the great evils and sufferings of the world. O the great-souled, deserving the most excellent gifts, who has rescued the beings from the dread of the sufferings of the world].

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When Bhagavā was not very far from the great city of Śrāvastī, many miracles took place and the citizens were at a loss as to what could be the cause of the appearance of such good omens. At that time, an old man of many centuries removed the doubts of the citizens by telling them that the cause of the omens is that Śākyamuni Tathāgata, possessing knowledge and good conduct, the knower of the world, the incomparable, the teacher of men and gods, who is now dwelling at Jetavana-vihāra is about to enter into the city for alms. Then the people wondered how virtuous must be Śākyamuni at whose entrance into a city such miracles could happen. On hearing this, the old man said in verses:

"If one merely utters the name of Śākyanātha, he will be delivered of great misery and will never go to hell. He will go to heaven quickly. He, who hears only his name uttered, will become a Bodhisattva and will never be born in any lower region or go to hell, and will become a king or emperor. He who remembers his name will be cleansed of all his past sins, and enjoy happiness for ages, and visit all the Buddha-kṣetras and can never go to hell."

When the old man had just concluded his praises, Bhagavā entered into Śrāvastī through the city-gate. At the gate appeared 12 koṭis of lotus flowers, and on each lotus flower was seated a Bodhisattva, cross-legged and with hands folded in adoration. The moment Bhagavā entered the city, 99 koṭis of beings were established in the Sukhāvatī lokadhātu[1] and 84 koṭis in the Abhirati lokadhātu—the Buddha-kṣetra of Akṣobhya Tathāgata.

Bhagavā accompanied by Ānanda went to the house of the city-sweeper (?). On hearing the sound of the begging-bell, the daughter of the city-sweeper was astonished because no monk so far had visited her house for alms. As she had nothing to give, she shed tears, cursed her poverty and even was about to kill herself by a sharp sword. Then a god of the Suddhāvāsa heaven came to know of this situation, and so, putting on an invaluable pearl necklace, he instantly appeared before the girl with a hundred kinds of sweet food and Kāśikā cloths. He then requested the girl to wear the Kāśikā cloths and adorn herself

1 The Buddakṣetra of Amitābha. Cf. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, pp. 419, 458; also ch. VII.

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with the pearl-necklace and then offer the food to Bhagavā. She did as she was bidden by the god.

Bhagavā then asked her to make the offering as she had done formerly to Vipaśyi, Śikhi, Viśvabhuk, Krakutsanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and other Tathāgatas, and said that by this offering, her femininity and poverty would be at an end. When she followed him to some distance, Bhagavā asked her to return and promised to tell her her past birth-stories. The girl fell at his feet and prayed thus in verses:

"Be compassionate to me, and rescue me from the misery of old age, disease and death. Be my refuge, and in accordance with the vow taken by you, save me as well as all those beings living in the ten corners of Jambudvīpa from the ocean of misery, and make them happy."

Bhagavā then told her the cause of her poverty. He said, 'she once came out of her house to give alms to a begging monk but went back, thinking that she would not give alms to one shaven-headed. It was by this refusal that she was reborn in indigent circumstances and suffered immensely from poverty for 12,000 kalpas. But by one meritorious act, she received the *Bodhi-vyākaraṇa* (i.e., the prophecy that she would become a Buddha). As she received it (by this gift), she would become after many ages the Tathāgata Nagaradhvaja, possessed of knowledge and good conduct, the controller of men, the knower of the world and the teacher of gods and men'. Then she circumambulated the Bhagavā thrice, and enquired as to the nature of the Buddhakṣetra she would have when she became the Buddha. Bhagavā satisfied her curiosity. She became much pleased and was about to return to her house. At this moment, Bhagavā told her that she would die on the seventh day and would be reborn in the east in the country of Magadha as the son of king Ajitasena and this would be her last existence. He then left the city by the western gate and went back to his Jetavana hermitage.

Ānanda once more appeared before Bhagavā and after saluting him and circumambulating him thrice, said in verses:

"O the great Being endowed with all the 32 signs of great men! When you go round for alms, you save all beings and establish them in happiness by the exercise of your *maitribala* (power of love), but what

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will happen when your religion will disappear after your demise, and there will be none to remember the sūtras."

On hearing this Bhagavā asked him to strike the gong (*gaṇḍī*) and said that he would start on his round for alms in the company of the monks. Ānanda being curious regarding the merits of hearing the sound of the gong asked Bhagavā about it. Bhagavā said:

"Whoever hears the gong-sound, gets absolved from the five deadly sins (*ānantaryāni kṛtyāni*) and becomes a never-returning Bodhisattva destined to attain bodhi."

Ānanda then struck the gong slowly and repeatedly. On hearing the sounds, all the great disciples (*mahāśrāvakas*) assembled, took their respective seats and commenced taking their meals. Among them was seated the Mahāśrāvaka Nandimitra. Bhagavā addressing him said, "Go, O Nandimitra, to the east to the country of Magadha, the kingdom of Ajitasena, and be the king's spiritual guide (*kalyāṇamitra*)". Nandimitra replied, "No, O Bhagavan, I shall not be able to go to that part of the land, for the people there are hard to manage and they will take my life". Bhagavā answered, "There is not a being who can destroy your hair, not to speak of your life".

Then Nandimitra donned his golden robe early in the morning, started eastwards for Magadha and reached the capital of Ajitasena. The king was much pleased to hear of his arrival and sent one of his ministers to escort him to the palace. But Nandimitra declined to come to the king at the bidding of the minister. On hearing this the king sent 500 ministers but they too failed to make him to come to the king. Then the king himself approached the Mahāśrāvaka and entreated him with folded hands to enter into his capital. Taking him by the right hand, the king led him into the palace and made him sit on the throne.

When Nandimitra had explained to the king that monks and recluses live on alms only, the king offered him food. Nandimitra took the food and expatiated in verses on the merits of giving alms, and on the rare qualities of the Teacher. He said,

'The giver of the alms to the order of monks, who are rarely found, can never suffer at the hands of demons and such other wicked beings, and are freed from old age, disease and sufferings; those who utter the name of the Teacher never go to hell."

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Nandimitra then expressed his willingness to accept the food-offerings of the king. When he was served by the king with food, hard and soft, he enquired of the latter if there was any garden hard by and on hearing that the king had one very beautiful, he wanted to see it. He found it suitable for his dwelling as it had all the necessary equipments, viz., a cold water tank for summer, and a tank for the rainy season with water, neither very hot nor very cold, both having golden steps running down into the water; Aśoka, Mucilinda, Pāṭali and such other flower-trees giving out scents; Śuka, Śārikā, Cakravāka, Mayūra, and Kokila birds singing sweet songs; golden lotus flowers and so forth. As soon as king Ajitasena learnt from him that he liked the place, he struck the drum; on hearing the sound his ministers assembled and enquired of him about the reason for making the sound. He asked them to make ready his chariots drawn by horses and elephants, as he wanted to go to the garden. In company with the Mahāśrāvaka, the king came to the garden and asked him as to the kind of cottage (*kuṭikaṃ*) needed by him. The Mahāśrāvaka replied, "O king, build one according to your heart's content and regard for me". The king then ordered his chief minister to build a hermitage 30 yojanas long and 6 yojanas wide well-decorated with jewels, and pearls, having a terraced walk 4 yojanas long and 2 yojanas wide. He then offered it to Nandimitra, saying in verses:

"The hermitage and a dry and beautiful walk have been completed, now rescue the beings; it was a great resolution made by you that you would preach the dharma."

He then returned to his capital leaving Nandimitra in the garden-hermitage.

When Nandimitra entered into meditation, his hair, eyes, hands, chest, stomach, legs—all limbs became quite different (*anyena keśā anyena nayanā anyena bāhūni anyena hṛdayaṃ anyena udaraṃ . . .*). For seven days the king eulogised him but the words did not reach the ears of the Mahāśrāvaka. After some time the king came with his son to the hermitage and found him as a mere lump (of flesh). Seeing this, he became very remorseful, and was going to cut himself asunder by a sharp sword, when his son with folded hands said the following verses:

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मा शोकचित्तस्य भवे तृपेन्तु।
मा वेदयी वेदनमीदृशानि ॥
आत्मघातं करित्वा तु निरये गमिष्यसि।
रौरवं नरकं चापि गमिष्यसि सुदारुणं ॥
दक्षिणीयो अयं लोके जरव्याधिप्रमोचकः।
दुर्लभो दर्शनं अस्य वोधिमार्गस्य दर्शकः ॥

[Do not grieve, be happy, do not suffer such a pain; by committing suicide you will go to hell. You will go to the frightful Raurava hell. In this world, the saviour of beings from old age and disease is worthy of gifts; difficult it is to have a look at one who shows the path leading to Bodhi].

By such words, the son prevented his father from slaying himself, and told him that the Mahāśrāvaka was engaged in meditation and asked him to retire till the Mahāśrāvaka would rise from same. As soon as the Mahāśrāvaka rose from meditation, he asked the king to come near him. The king, seeing the bhikṣu (Mahāśrāvaka), took off his crown and placed it on his son's head with the words, "let the kingdom be yours, govern it righteously and not unrighteously". The son replied, "I have performed innumerable kingly duties but never had satisfaction, so let the kingdom be yours, father, I have no desire for kingdom, wealth and power, rule the kingdom righteously".

The Mahāśrāvaka then dwelt on the merits of offering gifts to monks and advised the king to do so.

At this, the king ordered his ministers to make his chariots ready for going to Jetavana vihāra to see and worship Śākyamuni and hear from him the dharma. When the king was nearing Jetavana in his bejewelled chariot, Śākyamuni collected his monks and asked them to enter into the meditation which would make them appear as a garland of flames (*jvālāmālaṃ bodhisattva-samādhi*). The king seeing this garland of flames asked Nandimitra what it meant. Nandimitra told him that it was there where Śākyamuni Tathāgata lived and preached his doctrines, and practised meditation. The king then alighted from the chariot with his son and approached Bhagavā, around whose body he saw a golden flame two cubits long moving about. After ascertaining who Śākyamuni was, the king fell at his feet. He was

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raised by the outstretched hands of Śākyamuni with the words, "O king, you have for innumerable kalpas seen this body; what is your object in falling at my feet"? The king saluted him uttering in verses:

"I bow down my head to the leader of the world, endowed with the excellent signs, having long arms and golden body—one who saves beings from old age and disease, and stops the passage of beings into hell".

He then expressed his desire to retire from the world. At this Bhagavā was exceedingly pleased and said that his conversion would be a great gain to the religion as the religion would spread widely (*vaistārikī*). He asked the king to go back to his kingdom and promised to go there after seven days. The king greatly delighted returned to his capital preceded by his spiritual guide (*kalyāṇamitra*). He then ordered his ministers to have the streets cleansed, ask the people to hoist flags in their houses and put bejewelled pitchers of water at the door of every house. When all these were done, just on the seventh day, the Tathāgata with a large number of monks headed by Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Ānanda, Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra reached the capital. The king Ajitasena, preceded by his spiritual guide, received Bhagavā with a basket of flowers and sprinkled the flowers on him, and prayed that by that meritorious act might all beings attain the highest *sambodhi*. Mats were then spread for all and Bhagavā was seated on the throne. Bhagavā delivered his teachings from the throne and the king satisfied him and his disciples by giving them various kinds of food. Then the king's son was presented before Bhagavā. He sought for ordination before the king and was at once ordained by Ānanda by Bhagavan's direction. As soon as he was ordained, he attained *Arhathood* (*pravrajita mātreṇa arhattvaṃ samprāptaṃ abhūt*) and saw all the Buddhakṣetras (*sarva-buddhakṣetrāṇi paśyati sma*). Then the son hovered in the sky and addressed the following verses to his father:

मा विलंबं कुरु तात
मा खेदं किंचि यस्यासि।

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अहो सुलब्धं सुगतान दर्शनं
अहो सुलब्धं सुगतान लाभं ।।

अहो सुलब्धं परमं हि लाभं
प्रव्रज्यालाभं सुगतेन वर्णितं ।
संसारमोक्षः सुगतेन वर्णितं
प्रव्रज्य शीघ्रं मा विलंब तात ।।

मा खेदयी लोकविनायकेन्द्रं
सुदर्लभं लब्धं मनुष्यलाभं ।
सुदर्लभं दर्शनु नायकानां
शीघ्रं च प्रव्रज्य मया हि लब्धं ।।

प्राप्तं मया उत्तममग्रबोधिं ।
श्रुत्वान राजा तत् पुत्रवाक्यम् ।
निष्क्रामी प्रव्रजि शासनि नायकस्य

[Do not delay, O father, (to take ordination), you will not experience any trouble. It is a great gain to see and meet the Sugata. Retirement from the world has been praised by Bhagavā, so also emancipation from the world of transmigration. Take ordination quickly and do not delay and do not cause grief to the lord of leaders. Difficult it is to be born as man, difficult (also) to meet the Leader; quickly have I retired from the world and quickly have I attained the highest knowledge. Hearing these words of his son the king retired and embraced the doctrine of the Leader].

The king was much pleased at his son's words and spent 30 koṭis for building monasteries. The 1000 women of the harem were all transformed into men and they all took ordination.[1] Bhagavā after ordaining them returned to the Jetavana-vihāra.

1 It fully endorses the view mentioned in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, p. 264 that the following five positions cannot be attained by a woman: Brahmasthānaṃ, Sakrasthānaṃ, Mahārājasthānaṃ, Cakravartisthānaṃ, and Avaivartika Bodhisattvasthānaṃ. It further says that a woman may fulfil the *pāramis* but can never become a Buddha.

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Ānanda asked "O Bhagavā, what will be the result of these meritorious acts of king Ajitasena?"

Bhagavā replied, "You have done well, Ānanda, that you have asked me such a question. After countless ages, this king Ajitasena will become Ajitapralokanātha-tathāgata having knowledge and good conduct etc."

Ā: What will be the results of the good deeds of Nandimitra Mahāśrāvaka, the spiritual guide of the king?

Bh.: He will become at that time Nandiprabhanāma-tathāgato.

Ā: How will their Buddhakṣetras be called?

Bh.: Their Buddhakṣetras will be called Aparimitaguṇasañcaya (a collection of innumerable merits).

Ā: What will be the merits of him who will in future promulgate (*prakāśayiṣyati*) this religious treatise (*dharmaparyāyam*)?

Bh.: They will attain Bodhi just as much as I have done through incalculable acts which are hard to perform (*duṣkara*). He, who listens to a gāthā of 4 pādas, will become non-returning (*avaivarttika*) Bodhisattvas.

Ā: What will be the merits of those *dharma-reciters* (*bhāṇakas*) who will preach this *dharma-paryāya*?

Bh.: Those who will preach the whole of this *dharmaparyāya* will become kings or emperors, lords of the four continents (*dvīpa*) and will ultimately be emancipated from birth, old age, disease, grief and death.

Ā: What will be the fate of those who will speak ill of this *dharmaparyāya*?

Bh.: Enough, Ānanda, do not ask me about the great sins that will be incurred by them; I cannot enumerate them, nor can the koṭis of Buddhas.

Ā: Tell them, O Bhagavā, O Sugata.

Bh.: Then listen, Ānanda, they will undergo immense sufferings for ages by having their birth in the great hells of Raurava, Hāhaha and Avīci, or in the Yamaloka, animal-world or spirit-world. If they are born as human beings, they will have long and dry palate and

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throat (*dīrgha-śuṣka-tālukaṇṭha*), their tongues will be 12 yojanas long, and with their aid they will declare that those who will speak ill of the *dharmaparyāya* will fare like them.

Ā: How will this excellent dharma be destroyed?

Bh.: In future, there will be some who will rebuke, speak ill of and even injure the reciters or repositories of the *sūtras*, to whom they will bear hatred. Their demerits will be much more than those who extract the eyes of all the beings of the three thousand worlds. So also will be the demerits of those who will bear hatred towards the repositories or reciters of the *sūtras*.

Ānanda then said that many *sūtras* had been heard by him but none like this. Then in verses he said, "I shall remember and preach this sūtra and protect it from the hands of the revilers".

Then the Mahāśrāvakas Kāśyapa, Sārīputra, Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra uttered verses eulogizing the *sūtra* and its preacher the Buddha, and promised to preach it. They were followed by Brahmā Sahampati, who also took the vow to protect the *sūtra*. This is the *Ajitasenavyākaraṇa-nirdeśa-nāma-Mahāyāna sūtram*. This (ms.) is written by Ārya Sthira-buddhi (and recited) by the *dharmabhāṇaka* Narendradatta.

NALINAKSHA DUTT

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MISCELLANY

A Quotation from the Hṛdayadarpana

(a lost work on alaṅkāra found in the *Rasapradīpa* of Prabhākara A.D. 1583)

Dr. S. K. De in his *Sanskrit Poetics*[1] while treating of Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa's *Rasapradīpa*, states that Prabhākara cites "Śrīharṣa Miśra, Miśra, Rucinātha, Dharmadatta, Locanakāra (Abhinavagupta), Pradīpakṛt, Sāhityadarpaṇakāra." This list does not include the work *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* from which a quotation is given in the beginning of the work, a Ms.[2] of which is available in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B.O.R. Institute. On folio 1 of the Ms. the quotation is introduced as under:—

"तदुक्तं हृदयदर्पणे
कीटानुविद्धरत्नादिसाधारण्येन कान्तता ।
दुष्टेष्वभिहि (म) ता यत्र रसाद्यनुगमः स्फुटः ॥ इति"

I have not found this verse in the Pratīka indices of the editions of *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*,[3] *Kāvyaprakāśa*,[4] and *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*.[5] Presumably the verse is not mentioned in these works. I, therefore, take it to be a quotation from the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* as stated in the *Rasapradīpa*.

The quotations from the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* so far pointed out by scholars[6] are:—

(1) *Dhvanyālokalocana* of Abhinavagupta (Kāvyamālā ed.).

A—p. 27—यदेवोक्तं हृदयदर्पणे—
'यावत् पूर्णेन चैतेन तावन्नैवैवम्' इति ।

1 Vol. I, (1923), p. 303. 2 No. 764 of 1886-92 (Govt. Mss. Library).
3 Bombay Sanskrit Series No. XXXVII, 1888. 4 *BORI.* ed. 1921.
5 *Bib. Indica* edition, 1912.
6 V.V. Sovani in *JRAS.*, 1909, pp. 450-2. Prof. M. Hiriyanna in the *Proceedings* of the First Ori. Conference, vol. II, 1919, p. 246, remarks that references to it (Hṛdayadarpaṇa) are plentiful in alaṃkāra works; but does not refer to any other source than the *Dhvanyālokalocana*.

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B—p. 28—यदोक्तं हृदयदर्पणे—

'सर्वत्र [illegible] काव्य-व्यवहारः स्यात्' इति ।

C—p. 63—[illegible] हृदयदर्पणे उक्तं —

'[illegible] इति । संरम्भार्थोऽयम् चमत्कार' इति ।

D—p. 27—तेन यदाह भट्ट-नायकः—

'शब्दप्राधान्यमाश्रित्य तत्र शास्त्रं पृथग्विदुः ।
अर्थ-तत्त्वेन युक्तं तु वदन्त्याख्यानमेतयोः ।
द्वयोर्गुणत्वे व्यापारप्राधान्ये काव्यधीर्भवेत् ।' इति ।

(1) *Dhvanyālokalocana* of Abhinavagupta (Kāvyamālā ed.) Mr. Sovani cites evidence to support the view that Bhaṭṭanāyaka to whom the quotation (b) has been ascribed was the author of the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*.

I am not concerned here with the question of the authorship of the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* but with its nature about which the following views are expressed so far:—

(1) According to Mr. Sovani[7] "the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* is not likely to be a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, but is probably a work in prose and verse criticizing the idea of *Dhvani* as found in the Dhvanyāloka and establishing a new doctrine about poetry etc."

(2) According to Dr. S. K. De[8] "it was probably composed in a metrical form and apparently never took at all the shape of a prose commentary."

In view of the foregoing views regarding the nature of the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* the quotation from the *Rasapradīpa* of Prabhākarbhaṭṭa pointed out in this note appears to be important as it is a further addition to the list of the quotations mentioned by Mr. Sovani. Though our quotation is of the metrical form, the prose quotations of Mr. Sovani proves, so far as the present catalouges go, his statement that it was "a work in prose and verse."[9] Dr. De's statement, therefore, that "it

7 *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 451. 8 *Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. I, p. 41.

9 Mr. A. Śaṅkaran in his "Theories of Rasa and Dhvani", 1929, also supports the view of Mr. Sovani. He observes on p. 87 of his thesis:—"The *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* from which verses also are cited in the *Locana*, p. 27, was probably an independent treatise in prose and verse containing Nāyaka's exposition of the realisation of Rasa and his attacks on the theory of Dhvani."

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never took the shape of a prose commentary" will have to be modified in the revised edition of his *Sanskrit Poetics*.

The question now arises whether the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* was lost subsequent to A.D. 1583 which is the date of composition of the *Rasapradīpa*. It may be that it was lost much earlier and Prabhākara found the quotation in some other work and incorporated it in his present work, or, the work was before him when he wrote the *Rasapradīpa*, and that it was lost subsequent to A.D. 1583. Both alternatives are possible.

P. K. Gode

A Note on a remark of Yuan Chwang

The remark of Yuan Chwang that Harṣa "waged incessant warfare until in six years he had fought the Five Indias (according to another reading he had brought the Five Indias under allegiance)",[1] has led some scholars to the view that all conquests of Harṣa "were over by about A.D. 612, that he had become king six years earlier (the period of the conquest) in A.D. 606",[2] and that "Harṣa's wars with Valabhi and Pulakeśi took place within A.D. 612".[3]

There is no basis for supposing that Yuan Chwang's 'six years' began in 606 A.D., the year of Harṣa's accession, and ended in 612 A.D. It would involve a discrepancy, since the term "Five Indias"[4] implies sovereignty over Gauḍa and Orissa also, but the Ganjam inscription[5] shows that his inveterate enemy Śaśāṅka was flourishing in these regions as late as the year 619 A.D.

1 Watters, I, p. 343; Beal, I, p. 213.

2 *Harṣa* (Rulers of India Series), p. 36, note 1. See also C. V. Vaidya, *HMHI.*, I, p. 13.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Havell's *Aryan Rule in India*, p. 191; D. C. Sen's *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 385; Smith's *Early History of India*, 4th edition, p. 353.

5 *EI.*, vol. VI, 141.

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II

Then again, Pulakeśi II came to the throne about the year 609-10 A.D., and it would indeed be a miracle if at the very start of his career, and with his position still unconsolidated at home, the Cālukya monarch could inflict a crushing defeat on the "lord of the Five Indias". But we must point out here that Dr. Fleet was of opinion that the Hyderabad grant, dated in the third year of Pulakeśi's installation in the sovereignty in the Śaka Saṃvat 534 expired or 612 A.D., implied "by the title which was acquired by the victory over him (Harṣa), that that victory had then already been achieved".[6]

The Hyderabad grant informs us that Pulakeśi II acquired the title of Parameśvara "by defeating hostile kings who had applied themselves (or a hostile king who had applied himself) to the contest of a hundred battles".[7] Since the subsequent records state more specifically that he acquired it "by defeating the glorious Harṣavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the North", it is with some plausibility argued that the conflict, which according to the Hyderabad grant won this title for Pulakeśi, was against Harṣa himself, and that it occurred before 612 A.D., the date of the epigraph. If this, however, were a fact, would it not be inexplicable why Harṣavardhana's name is not mentioned in the earlier Hyderabad grant, and finds specific mention—with legitimate pride too—in the Aihole inscription of A.D. 634—35, and other later inscriptions.

III

In my opinion this omission goes against Fleet's theory, for it is hard to believe that any of Pulakeśi's earlier inscriptions ignored the name of so great and formidable an adversary, and particularly when the victory was achieved just at the start of the Cālukya monarch's career.

6 Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 351, 356.
7 *Ibid*.

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The title Parameśvara was very commonly assumed by kings in those days after gaining the paramount status. It was adopted by Sarvavarman and Avantivarman Maukhari,[8] Dharasena of Valabhi,[9] and a host of other rulers. Presumably Pulakeśi II at first assumed it as a regal title only after certain preliminary successes against his rivals and the consolidation of his power at Badami. But when subsequently he scored a brilliant triumph over Harṣa, he felt special pride in its possession, and thenceforth it became a sort of a secondary name, (*aparanāmadheyaḥ*).

IV

At this point we must also explain the other statement of Yuan Chwang that Harṣa "reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon".[10] This is how Watters has translated the passage, but the text does not appear to be quite clear, as Beal renders it thus: "*After* thirty years his arms reposed, and he governed everywhere in peace".[11]

If Beal's interpretation be accepted, it would convey the sense that Harṣa carried on warfare for thirty years, after which his authority was established, and he reigned in peace.

If Watters' rendering be correct, how are we to reconcile this statement of Yuan Chwang with his other information that Harṣa had made an attack on the Kongoḍa (Ganjam) region as late as 643 A.D.?

The Chinese pilgrim, I think, probably meant that at the time of his visit Harṣa's reign had been peaceful internally, and the home-provinces had enjoyed the blessings of orderly government for thirty years. We know that when Harṣa was called upon to occupy the throne, both the kingdoms of Thāneśvar and Kanauj were passing through a critical period. Prabhākaravardhana and Rājyavardhana had died within a short space of time, and there were perhaps some fears of a recrudescence of the Hūṇa danger. The Maukhari dominions had also

8 Deo-Baranark inscription, Fleet's *CII.*, pp. 214-218.

9 *Ibid*, Introduction, p. 41; *JBBRAS*, X, p. 79.

10 Watters, I, p. 343.

11 Beal, I, p. 213.

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suffered serious losses and reverses owing to the combined attack of Devagupta of Malwa and Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa. Kanauj itself had fallen, and the political conflagration threatened even to consume his ancestral kingdom of Thāneśvar. Harṣa, however, instead of losing nerve at that juncture acted promptly and decisively; and by his energy and military strategy succeeded in overawing Śaśāṅka and recovering the lost ground. Soon the storm subsided and Harṣa established internal security and stability of government within a comparatively short period.

V

It was to this peaceful situation within the kingdom that Yuan Chwang particularly refers, for he remarks elsewhere that rebellions and internal upheavals were not of rare occurrence in those days.[12] But the success of his internal government did not mean any peace to Harṣa in his foreign relations. He was frankly imperialistic in his outlook, and the Kongoḍa campaign in 634 A.D. proves beyond doubt that he had to undertake military expeditions intermittently almost till the close of his momentous reign.

It would thus be evident from the foregoing discussion that we have no ground to support the theory that all the warlike activities of Harṣa "were over by about A.D. 612."

Rama Shankar Tripathi

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Macedonian Month-Name in a Brāhmī Inscription

While on a visit to Mathura in April last year (1931) I had occasion to notice a Brāhmī inscription of the time of Huvishka, incised on a pillar prominently displayed among the exhibits of the Curzon Museum. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has published an edition of the record, with a facsimile, in the *JBORS.*, XVII, p. 6.

The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to its date which has a bearing on the tangled chronology of the Kushan period. Mr. Jayaswal's inference that "it is a document of Huvishka's first year" needs correction. The date is thus expressed:

TEXT: Siddham (a symbol) samvatsare 20 8 *Gurppiye* divase 1.

TRANS. "Success: (*A symbol*) In the year 28, in (the month) *Gurppiya*, on the first day....."

The month named Gurppiya[1] doubtless stands for the Macedonian month, Gorpiaeus, corresponding to August or September.[2] This has eluded the notice of Mr. Jayaswal who contents himself with the remark: "It is dated in Kanishka's era, year 28th".

Our record thus proves the use of Macedonian month-names in the Mathura region, at least, as early as the reign of Huvishka. In other dated Kushān records in the Brāhmī script from the same region, we meet with two modes of dating: (1) year, season, number of month within the season, day; (2) year, month (Indian name), day. Dates in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the same period (but not from the same region) exhibit the following modes: (3) year, month (Indian name), day, with sometimes the *nakṣatra* added; (4) year, month (Macedonian name), day. The variety in the modes may appear perplexing at first. But, when we remember that the Macedonian months were lunar, and that the Indian months then in use were likewise lunar, it becomes clear that the same lunar month could be described either by its Indian or by its Macedonian name. This fact has escaped the attention of scholars who have sought to infer from the use of Macedonian month-names in several Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions that the year associated with

1 Jayaswal reads *Gurppiya*; but *ye* is clear on the plate.

2 Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 39 and Table VII.

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every Macedonian month-name must pertain to an era of foreign origin. In reality, it would be a mere matter of nomenclature, whether the Indian or the Macedonian month-name were employed; and the nomenclature of the month cannot be deemed to have any legitimate reaction on the question of nationality of the era to which the associated year belongs.

No deeper distinction need be presumed between the two modes: (1) year, season, number of month within the season, day; and (2) year, month (Indian name), day. Because, in either case, the particular lunar month is clearly indicated by its position within the seasonal subdivision of the year, or by its own special designation (like Māgha, Phālguna, &c.). The same remark applies to a fifth mode, found in early records, for instance, in the Nasik inscriptions of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyī: (5) year, season, number of pakṣa (fortnight) within the season, day; for, the pakṣa is nothing but half the lunar month, so that a season consisting of four lunar months would consist also of eight pakṣas.

The date of our inscription, which alludes to Huvishka as *devaputra shāhi*, falling in August or September, in the year 28 of the undetermined era used in the Kushān records, it becomes interesting to ascertain whether it falls before or after the last known date of Vāsishka, a Kushān prince of the same series, who is known to have ruled at Mathura as well as at Sanchi, as attested by two epigraphs, one of which comes from Isapur, near Mathura, while the other belongs to Sanchi. The Isapur record is dated in the "year 24, season *grīṣma*, month 4, day 30";[3] while the Sanchi record is dated in the "year 28, season *hemanta*, month 1, day 5". We have it on the authority of Fleet,[4] that the calendar in practical general use throughout the range of records envisaged by Prof. Lüders in his valuable *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, *EI.*, X, App.) down almost to the latest in the list (wherein the Sanchi inscription is numbered 161) made lunar Mārgaśīrṣa the first month of the season *hemanta*. The date of the Sanchi inscription would thus fall in October or November.

Clearly, therefore, Huvishka's reign in Mathura commenced before

3 Vogel, *Cat. Mathura Museum*, p. 189.
4 *JRAS.*, 1912, pp. 703 ff.

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Vāsishka's reign in Sanchi terminated. Precisely how long before, we cannot say; but the date must lie somewhere between the year 24, season *grīṣma* month 4, day 30 (the date of the Isapur inscription of Vāsishka) and the year 28, month Gorpiæus, day 1 (the date of the inscription under discussion). If we place the event about the year 26, we cannot be far wrong.

The overlapping calls for explanation. A similar overlapping is known from the Ara inscription of Kanishka the second who is described therein as Vadjashkaputra,[5] son of Vadjashka, who can only be Vāsashka-Vāsishka. That inscription is dated in the year 41, when Huvishka must have been reigning at Mathura, since records belonging to Mathura and mentioning Huvishka as king are known to bear dates in the years 28, 29, 33, 38, 44, &c.; the other alternative being to assume that, Huvishka was ousted from Mathura in or after the year 38 by Kanishka II, son of Vāsiṣhka, but was restored in or before the year 44. Leaving aside the question of ousting, there are two features in the Ara record bespeaking Kanishka II's rivalry with Huvishka. In the first place, this Kanishka is described as the "son of Vadjashka." This is rather singular, since it was not customary for Kushān monarchs to be known through their fathers. Secondly, this Kanishka is given, in the Ara inscription, the title Kaisara, in addition to the usual titles assumed by the Kushān monarchs, namely, *mahārāja*, *rājātirāja* and *devaputra*. As demonstrated by Professor Lüders (who was the first to read the title Kaisara), this assembling of titles was prompted by a desire to claim overlordship of the Four Quarters; the title *mahārāja*, of Indian origin, denoting overlordship of the South; the title *rājātirāja*, of Parthian origin, denoting overlordship of the North; the title *devaputra*, of Chinese origin, denoting overlordship of the East; and, lastly, the title *kaïsara*, of Roman origin, denoting overlordship of the West. Apparently, this "son of Vasishka"

5 The second syllable is a clear conjunct of *da* and *ja*, evidently representing voiced *sa*. Ara is a place in the N.-W. Frontier The inscription was first published by R. D. Banerji in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1908. The latest edition is by Sten Konow in *Corpus Inscr. Indicarum*, vol. II (Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions), where full references are given.

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wanted to pose as a greater monarch than Huvishka; and, in order to complete his claim to overlordship of the Four Quarters, he adopted the Roman title Kaïsara (Cæsar). His claim to the Indian throne must also have been based upon the fact that he was a son of Vāsishka; and this fact is on that account specifically stated in the Ara record. We may perhaps infer that Huvishka was *not* a son of Vāsishka, so that his coming to the throne at Mathura before the termination Vāsishka's reign at Sanchi, as established from the data discussed above, acquires a rather sinister significance. The overlapping accords more with the hypothesis of a revolt than with the hypothesis of a friendly arrangement. That Vāsishka was in all probability a financially crippled monarch seems to follow from the circumstance that no coins of his have yet been discovered, although numerous coins of Kanishka, Huvishka &c. have been found, over a wide area, through a wide period, by search and by accident. We cannot call it an unlikely supposition if we imagine that, taking advantage of Vāsishka's distress, Huvishka established himself as an independent ruler in the Mathura region, leaving Central India (Sanchi) to Vāsishka. This must have happened about the year 26 of the Kushān reckoning. In less than fifteen years, the line of Vāsishka was restored, even if temporarily, at least in Gandhāra, in the person of his son, Kanishka II, who proceeded to adopt the Roman title Cæsar in order to show forth his power and majesty.

Harit Krishna Deb

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Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Valley Civilization

The scholars interested in the history of Indian civilization were eagerly awaiting for some time past the publication of the account of excavations at Mohenjo-daro carried out by the Government of India from 1922 to 1927. The three sumptuous volumes, of which two contain the account in 32 chapters covering 693 pp. (with a coloured map and a site plan, and some plates and illustrations), and one exclusively the plates (total 164), would be welcome to every Indologist, furnishing as they do remarkable archæological evidences that will cause a revolution in many of the current views and theories about the origin, development, and antiquity of many of the branches of arts and sciences that lay at the root of the ancient Indian civilization, and of the many articles of comfort or luxury that were used by the Indus Valley people at the remote period to which they belonged. The discoveries have given rise to many difficult problems, the solution of which will require of course a long time, but the experts who have applied their minds to them have already reached some conclusions that will constitute much food for thought for scholars in the various fields of investigation. The following extracts from the Preface, where Sir John has put together the most salient features of the Indus Valley civilization, will give the reader an idea about some of these conclusions:—

The following is in brief the scheme of distribution of the 32 chapters among the various writers:

Sir John Marshall, the Editor, has contributed 9 chapters: the country, climate, and rivers—site and its excavation—buildings—other antiquities and art—religion—disposal of the dead—extent of the Indus civilization—age and authors of the Indus civilization—the stūpa area.

Mr. Ernest Mackay, noted for his excavations at Kish and other places, has written 13 chapters: SL, L, and DK areas at Mohenjo-daro—architecture and masonry—plain and painted pottery—figurines and model animals—statuary—faience and stone vessels—seals, seal impressions, and copper tablets—household objects, tools, and implements—personal ornaments—games and toys—ivory, shell, faience, and other objects of technical interest—(the second part of a chapter on) technique and description of metal vessels, tools, implements, and other objects.

Mr. Hargreaves, Offg. D. G. A. in India: H R. Area.

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(1) "In the religion of the Indus peoples there is much, of course, that might be paralleled in other countries. This is true of every pre-historic and of most historic religions as well. But, taken as a whole, their religion is so characteristically Indian as hardly to be distinguishable from still living Hinduism or at least from that aspect of it which is bound up with animism and the cults of Śiva and the Mother Goddess —still the two most potent forces in popular worship. Among the many revelations that Mohenjo-daro and Harappā have had in store for us, none perhaps is more remarkable than this discovery that Śaivism has a history going back to the Chalcolithic Age or perhaps even further still, and that it thus takes its place as the most ancient living faith in the world".

(2) "India must henceforth be recognized, along with Persia, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, as one of the most important areas where the civilizing processes of society were initiated and developed. I do not mean to imply by this that India can claim to be regarded as the cradle of civilization; nor do I think on the evidence at present available that that claim can be made on behalf of any one country in particular.

Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni: HR Area, section B—VS Area.

Mr. C. J. Gadd (of the British Museum) and Mr. Sidney Smith (Inspector of Antiquities in Mesopotamia): some external features and the mechanical nature of the early Indus script (in two parts).

Prof. S. Langdon (Assyriologist, Oxford University): the Indus script.

Mr. M. Sana Ullah (Archaeological Chemist): copper and bronze utensils and other objects.

Mr. A. S. Hemmy (lately Principal, Govt. College, Lahore): the system of weights and measures.

Col. R. B. Seymour Sewell, Director, Zoological Survey of India, and Dr. B. S. Guha, Anthropologist to the Zoological Survey of India: human remains—zoological remains.

Sir Edwin Pascoe, Director, Geological Survey of India: minerals and metals.

The assistance of a few other specialists has also been utilized. The officers of the Department whose work has been mentioned in the Preface are the late Mr. R. D. Banerji who discovered the high antiquity of Mohenjo-daro, if not Mohenjo-daro itself and his successors Mr. M. S. Vats and Mr. K. N. Dikshit. Mr. Banerji left a report regarding his portion of the work in the stūpa area. This report has been utilized by Sir John Marshall in the 9th chapter, in which there is a note by Mr. N. G. Majumdar on the copper coins found in the area.

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In my view, the civilization of the Chalcolithic (i.e. when arms and utensils of stone were used side by side with those of copper or bronze) and succeeding ages resulted from the combined efforts of many countries, each contributing a certain quota towards the common stock of knowledge."

(3) "……We are justified in seeing, in the great Bath of Mohenjo-daro and in its roomy and serviceable houses with their ubiquitous wells and bathrooms and elaborate systems of drainage, evidence that the ordinary townspeople enjoyed here a degree of comfort and luxury unexampled in other parts of the then civilized world".

(4) "Equally peculiar to the Indus Valley and stamped with an individual character of its own is its art. Nothing that we know of in other countries at this period (third millennium B.C.) bears any resemblance, in point of style, to the miniature faience models of rams, dogs, and other animals or to the intaglio engravings on the seals, the best of which—notably the humped and short horned bulls—are distinguished by a breadth of treatment and a feeling for line and plastic form that has rarely been surpassed in glyptic art; nor would it be possible, until the classic age of Greece, to match the exquisitely supple modelling of the two human statuettes from Harappa figured in plates X and XI".

Probable causes of ruin of Mohenjo-daro

The work opens with a description of the present physical conditions of Mohenjo-daro and the surrounding places. The scanty rainfall occasionally varied by torrents of rain, the extreme variations of temperature in summer and winter, dust storms, sandflies, and mosquitos have made the present Mohenjo-daro a very unattractive spot for human habitation but the conditions were different five thousand years ago, when it was a flourshing city. From the picture of the region presented by Arrian and other historians of Alexander, it is evident that the general aridity of the country was in evidence some centuries before Alexander's invasion. The probable causes of such a climatic change have been discussed in detail. This change as also those undergone by the courses of the rivers in Sind, for which

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evidence has been cited, together with the violent inundations can well account for the ruin of the city.

The various Areas

The site of Mohenjo-daro has been divided into a number of areas for purposes of reference and separate delineation. A reference to the site plan shows at a glance the relative positions of the various areas together with the railway stations, the museum, and the officers' quarters. A portion of the site is called the stūpa area because there a Buddhist monastery has been unearthed, while the other areas are called HR, VS, DK and so forth probably after the names of the officers to whom they were entrusted. The six chapters X-XV contain detailed descriptions of these portions of the site with special references to the remains of buildings found there as also the various articles discovered in the different spots. Each article has been carefully delineated and its location noted down with a precise indication of the spot and the depth at which it has been discovered, enabling one to draw inferences regarding its antiquity. Several views of the areas from the air as well as a profusion of beautiful illustrations of the relics make it easy for the reader to form a general idea of the areas and a detailed idea of the finds.

Stratification. Some of the relics have a history going back to 4000 B.C.

Altogether, seven layers of buildings have been discovered at Mohenjo-daro: three of the Late Period, three of the Intermediate, and one of the Early. Earlier layers lie submerged under the sub-soil water. In normal conditions, a period of one thousand years could have been allowed for the occupation of Mohenjo-daro on the analogy of well-known sites like Troy, Athens or Rome, but as the process of decay and revival was much more rapid here, a provisional period of five hundred years, i.e., about two generations for each of the strata have been allowed. Of course, this period does not include the whole

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rise and fall of the Indus civilization because the stage at which it reveals itself is already high as demonstrated by the complexity of city life, the elaborate nature of the buildings and the excellence of the arts and crafts. For this evolution, roughly a period of one thousand years has been allotted. The individual relics that point to an early intercourse between the Indus Valley, Elam, and Mesopotamia must in the case of two seals at least be referred to the pre-Sargonic Period, and not later than the third millennium B.C., and as the antecedent period of evolution has been assumed to cover a thousand years, the relics have a history going back to the fourth millennium B.C. Mr. Gadd and Prof. Langdon infer from the two specimens of seals with 'Indus' pattern found at Ur and Kish that the 'Indus civilization must go back to an age before 2800 B.C. This is 'incontestable'. Among the many objects (other than seals) that demonstrate an intimate relation between the Indus Valley and Early Sumerian cultures, the following seven sets of relics are mentioned as of special interest:—

(1) Fragments of vases found at Al-Ubaid made of an Indian potstone;

(2) the trefoil pattern on the robe of the statuette on pl. xcviii identical with that on some Sumerian 'Bulls of Heaven' of early date;

(3) the horned figures on seals 356 and 357;

(4) a toilet set found at Harappa identical in pattern with one discovered at Ur;

(5) the etched heads of Carnelian (pl. cxlvi) resembling those from pre-Sargonic graves at Kish;

(6) a peculiar type of jar cover resembling those discovered at Jamdet Nasr; and

(7) the wavy rings of shell inlay (pl. clvi, 4 & 5), a squat carinated vessel (pl. lxxxi, 17), and the stone toilet boxes (pl. cxxxi, 36 & 37).

It has been assumed provisionally that the Ur and Kish seals belong to the Intermediate Period and accordingly the occupation of Mohenjo-daro fell approximately between 3250 and 2750 B.C.

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The buildings within the city

The people of the Indus Valley had clear ideas about town-planing. This is indicated by the striking regularity of the divisions of the city of Mohenjo-daro, the successfully aligned streets, the orientation of all the principal streets to the points of the compass, the corespondence of the houses and public buildings with the orientation of the thoroughfares and such other features of the lay-out of the city. The width of the streets ranges from 13 to 30 feet, and the lanes that separate one block from another vary in widtl. from 3 ft. 8 in. to 7 ft. The corners of some of the streets are slightly rounded. In two cases, this rounding appears to be intentional, as there are indications of trimming by an instrument. Thin cross walls bar some of the streets showing an attempt to divide the city into wards for greater public security. The external appearances of the buildings are severely plain. The motive for keeping them unornamented has been guessed to be to avoid additional taxes, which would have been imposed, if any marks of the possession of wealth by the owners distinguished the externals of the buildings. Drains inside the houses were comparatively rare, because the kitchens and bathrooms were usually constructed next to the street wall in order that water might flow out into the drains in the street straightaway. The elaborate system of public drainage has been taken as an evidence of large rainfall in ancient Sind. Pottery drain-pipes, soak-pits, and sediment-pits were in general use, but no latrines have been found except two well-built ones in House XLIX in the HR area (p.207). The existence of small doorless chambers points to the possibility of their use as cess-pits. The construction of the true arch was not known at Mohenjo-daro because only the corbelled arch is found in use. It was known in very early times in Egypt and Babylon. Burnt and not sun-dried bricks have been found in all the houses within the city. The use of some form of windlasses for the drawing of water from some private wells is inferred from the absence of marks caused by the friction of ropes on the coping. Windows were few in number in the houses. Bath-rooms are found in nearly every house.

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The Great Bath

A vast hydropathic establishment includes the great Bath—the most remarkable of all the remains discovered at Mohenjo-daro. The overall dimension of the building is 180 ft. by 108 ft. The swimming bath is in the middle of a quardrangle having verandahs on all the four sides. On three sides, at the back of the verandahs, there are various rooms and galleries. The bath is 39ft. by 23 ft. and sunk about 8 ft. below the pavement of the court with a flight of steps at either end. For the convenience of bathers, a low platform has been constructed at the base of each of the flights of steps. The bath was filled with water from a well, and the waste water was let out through a covered drain, the roof of which is about 6 ft. 6 in. high. The stairway testifies to the existence of at least one upper storey. Every precaution was taken to make the walls of the bath water-tight. The lining of the tank is made of finely dressed brick in gypsum mortar with an inch of damp-proof course of bitumen. Other interesting details regarding the method of construction are found in the description but space does not permit me to mention them here.

Hot-air bath or hypocaust

Another building near the south-west corner of the Great Bath and forming part of the same establishment is a *hammām* or hot-air bath. The portion of the building that has been cleared reveals a number of rectangular platforms of brick, each being of the size of a small room about 5 ft. high with a series of vertical chases sunk in their sides. Cinders and charcoal were found on the narrow passages between the platforms crossing one another at right angles. The heating system may have been used only to keep the house warm in winter, but the inference that the platforms were the solid sub-structures of the heated rooms of a *hammām*, and the chases the beginnings of the flues for distributing the heat through the walls and under the floors of the rooms is more likely to be correct. The existence of a building in the DK area (sec. B, block 2), leaving no doubt about the fact that the Indus people knew the principle of hypocaust, corroborates this inference.

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Three more points should be noticed in connection with the remains of buildings:

Pillared hall

(1) The discovery of a pillared hall in the area (block 4, sec. C). It is a spacious hall containing twenty piers arranged in four rows supporting the roof.

Temples not definitely identified

(2) The absence of an unambiguous clue to the identification of some spacious edifices as temples. In Mesopotamia, the temples were, broadly speaking, copies of the royal palaces. Some of the big edifices at Mohenjo-daro may have been temples; or it is also possible that like the Minoans, they had no public shrines at all but had only places for worship in their own houses.

A Buddhist stūpa with a monastery

(3) The discovery of a Buddhist stūpa and a monastery. A conjectural restoration of the stūpa at p. 116 enables the reader to have at a glance an idea of same with as much of approximation to its actual appearance as possible. Plate XVI contains a plan of the stūpa with the surrounding quadrangle and the rows of monastic buildings on the four sides. The body of the original stūpa is still not fully visible, but on the east side the accretions have disappeared and exposed to view a sufficient portion to show that it had a width of over 50 ft. from north to south. Its length from east to west including the steps on the eastern side was about 74 ft. The drum of the stūpa has disappeared but the lower part of the circular drum measuring 8 ft. 4 in. above the plinth still exists. The diameter of the drum was about 33 ft. 6 in., hollow in the middle, and made of sundried bricks (each measuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times 2\frac{3}{4}$ in.) laid in mud mortar. There are cells and other apartments on the four sides of the court-yard. The monastery was entered by a passage on the east side. There was a vestibule 25 ft. 6 in. $\times$ 13 ft. 6 in. To the north of the vestibule is a chapel. Next comes a stairway leading to the upper floor. There is a large assembly

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hall (44 ft. × 26 ft.) in the north-east corner. The second large hall is guessed to be the common room in the monastery. The sleeping and living rooms for use by the monks are ranged on three sides of the quadrangle. The number of monks that could be accommodated on the ground and the first floor is estimated at about forty. The additional chambers on the northern side at the back of the monk's quarters are surmised to have been used as kitchens, store rooms, etc. In chamber 27, some relics connected with a post-cremation burial have been discovered, while beneath chamber 39, a pre-historic earthenware vessel has been found. The coin-finds containing many unknown types are very interesting. A collection of 1684 coins deposited in an earthen pot belongs to a date subsequent to the Kushan king Vāsudeva I. It has been inferred from the evidence supplied by the coins and other data that the stūpa was probably founded by one of the earlier Kushan kings Kaniṣka or Huviṣka but the monastery buildings were built later, i.e., are not older than the reign of Vāsudeva I (c. 185-220 A.D.).

Seals

The seals discovered in the various strata constitute one of the most interesting of the finds. Up to May, 1927, 558 were collected. Most of them have one or two lines of scripts or pictographs as well as the representation of some animal. Sir Alexander Cunningham secured some specimens like these from the villagers near Harappā and noticed them in the *Archæological Survey Report*, vol. V (1875), p. 108, pl. xxxiii, fig. 1 (see also *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 699-701, for a note by Dr. J. F. Fleet—A representation of a seal from Harappā now in the British Museum was published many years ago by Terrien de Lacouperie in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*.). The seals have been classified into the following ten types:

(a) cylinder seals; (b) square with perforated boss on reverse; (c) square with no boss and in some cases inscribed on both sides; (d) rectangular with no boss; (e) button seals with linear designs; (f) rectangular with perforated convex back; (g) cube; (h) round with perforated boss; (i) rectangular with perforated boss; and (j) round with no boss and inscribed on both sides.

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A few features of these seals may be noted:

Re. (a) The seals are made of ivory and are longer and thinner than the cylinder seals of other countries. Three of the seals end in knobs, perhaps for being tied to a cord.

,, (b) These are made of steatite and have been found in large number.

,, (c) The *svastika* mark is found on some of them.

,, (d) Of the twenty-two specimens, five are of steatite and the rest of faience. The latter may have been used for stamping impressions for some religious purpose. The *svastika* mark appears on many of them. This symbol was found in use in many places of the ancient world, e.g., Crete, Cappadocia, Troy, Susa, Musyan. But it was not known in Babylonia or Egypt. The direction of the arms of the symbol is generally towards the right, as it is held in India in historic times to be unlucky if they be turned towards the left; but such a feeling did not exist at Mohenjo-daro as many examples of the arms turned in one direction or other are available.

The seal 516 with a number of squares one set inside the other is only one of its kind at Mohenjo-daro. It is known at Susa and dated to the proto-Elamite period.

Re. (e) The pottery seals of the type are rather rare at Mohenjo-daro.

,, (f) Only five examples are available. They are made of sandy-yellow paste and appear to have been glazed. A series of parallel lines crossing one another at various angles appear on some of the seals. The same motif was known in Mesopotamia and Susa.

Some of the seals exhibit unusual features, e.g., inscribed boss (seal 18); levelled edges (seals 335, 337); possession of two registers—a fabulous animal occupying the upper and an elephant the lower portion (seal 376); triple row of pictographs (seal 389); the inclusion of a fabulous figure like the Sumerian hero Enkidu (seal 356).

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The uses to which the seals were put at Mohenjo-daro have been the subject-matter of some conjectures. The opinion has been put forward that some of them at least were used as amulets. The absence of sealings on clay or any other substance attached to a jar or any other article of merchandise as found at other ancient sites is responsible for obscurity on the point while the hollow interior of a seal (pl. cii, q) for the reception of some small sacred object and the representation of some animal believed to possess some special power support the amulet theory. But the dual use of a seal was quite possible. Of the five fragments of pottery bearing seal impressions, three are marked with a rectangular seal, and two with a square one (pl. lxxviii, 1, 3 and pl. cxv, 558-560). In one case a faint impression of the animal appears as if made by mistake (pl. lxxviii, 3). This makes it quite probable that sometimes the whole seal while at other times only its inscribed portion was used.

None of the seals discovered in other ancient sites outside India bear resemblance to these seals in shape, devices or pictographs.

The representations of animals on the seals

On a large number of the seals is represented a *beast with a single horn*. It is a male animal resembling either an antelope of heavy build, or an ox with a tufted tail. It may be a fabulous animal—a composite of the ox and the antelope. For convenience, it has been termed *unicorn* though it does not resemble the unicorn of heraldry. This unicorn is supposed to have originated in India and mentioned by Ctesias and Aristotle as peculiar to India and called the Indian ass. There is a curious standard-like object in front of the unicorns on the seals. The lower portion of the object is a bowl-like receptacle standing on an upright support. The bowl, in some specimens, appears as made of basket work, some of embossed material, or leather. The object above the bowl is equally curious. It looks like a cage resembling the pottery cages on pl. lxxxiv, 1 and 2. In some cases it is closed on the top and so cannot be taken to be a manger. There is a knob or handle on the top in some examples. On two of the impressions of the seals,

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an interesting scene shows four men passing in a procession (pl. cxvi, 5 & 8; pl. cxviii, 9) each with a standard in hand. The object on the standard behind is the same as the supposed cult object in front of the unicorn on the seals. The scene represents the leading of sacred animals in a procession. This is reminiscent of the practice of carrying both animal and cult object on standards in procession in ancient Egypt.

The *short-horned bull* is next in order of popularity to the unicorn and is seen on seals 308-26, 487, 536, and 557 b. The animal is always found in an angry mood being the vehicle of some god of war or destruction. On some of the specimens, an ornamental collar appears around the neck of the beast. The wrinkles and the dewlap have usually been faithfully represented. The likeness of the manger found in front has been found also on a cylinder seal of bone at Susa. The seal either came from India or was made by an Elamite artist for an Indian visitor to Susa. A seal bearing the device of a bull with lowered head and containing cuneiform characters was discovered at Ur. It is similar to the seals 308-26 except in regard to the scripts. This can be dated to the pre-Sargonic period.

The Brahmani bull appears on seals 327-40 and probably also 542. The representation of the animal on seal 337 has been marvellously executed; in feeling and in the careful portrayal of the muscles, it will compare favourably with early glyptic art anywhere. This animal is not found on the seals or pottery of Sumer or Elam.

Space does not permit me to reproduce here more details about the large number of portrayals of animals on the many seals found at Mohenjo-daro. Suffice it to say that the seals contain representations of the buffalo, the great Indian rhinoceros, tiger, elephant, the fish-eating crocodile, antelopes, mythological creatures in human or partly human forms, goat (seal 150) and scorpion (seal 262).

On some of the seals (12, 15 etc.) a man appears with a bow and arrow, a bent stick or some other article. On some (37, 42 etc.) he carries a bow on his back.

The portrayal of plant-forms is found only on twelve seals (22, 126, 167 etc.). On two of them (387, 527) a plant-form constitutes the cen-

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ral motif on the pipal tree appearing on one of them. The *babul* tree is represented on four seals (252, 353, 355 and 357).

Sealings

The seal-impressions have been divided into four classes, viz., those on

(a) Rectangular or square tablets,

(b) Triangular prisms,

(c) Round tablets, and

(d) Pottery vessels.

Five seal-impressions have been found on jars, and thirty one tablets of faience and baked clay of various shapes.

Some details regarding a few impressions belonging to the four groups may be interesting:

Re. (a). No. 1 on pl. cxvi, and 7 on pl. cxviii. Six nude human figures appear on the obverse in the upper register, standing in a row. A kneeling figure in the lower register holds a bladed object in one hand. A goat stands in front of the figures and a partly defaced tree in front of the goat. There is a human figure in the centre of the tree. The same scene is found on the reverse. The scene has been interpreted as showing a priest about to sacrifice a goat to a tree-spirit. Composite animals, rhinoceros, unicorn, gharial, a file of animals and a row of eight characters and the figure of a *yogin* seated on a dais with a kneeling worshipper on each side are also found in the various impressions.

Re. (b). No. 5 on pl. cxvi has an interesting scene, in which appears a file of four men carrying standards. The central standard shows the unicorn. The procession is Egyptian in character.

No. 14 on pl. cxvi shows on one face an elephant, a rhinoceros, a tiger or leopard, and a cat-like animal. Above them are a fish and a gharial with a fish in its mouth.

Copper tablets

The copper tablets are of two kinds:

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(a) with an animal or human figure on one side and an inscription on the other, and

(b) with an inscription on each side.

The animals on the tablets are elephant, antelope, hare, rhinoceros, buffalo (?), short-horned bull, human figure, goat, *brahmani* bull, tiger, two-headed animal, composite animal, and monkey (?).

On account of the thinness of the tablets, it is difficult to use them as seals. They were probably used as amulets. The possession of an amulet gave the wearer the special protection of the deity whose particular animal was engraved on the tablet. Or it is also probable that the animals were not regarded as sacred but as possessed of a special attribute which would help the wearer.

The early Indus script

An elaborate sign-list (pls. cxix to cxxix) has been made of 396 scripts in spite of the many difficulties of understanding whether any two characters are really different or identical. It is the opinion of both Mr. Gadd and Mr. Smith that the writing is in the hieroglyphic state and has not degenerated or been worn down by use into conventional summaries like the Babylonian cuneiform, the Egyptian hieratic, or the Chinese writing. This is due to the material upon which the characters are usually written, because on soft materials, they are used cursively and hence fail to preserve their lost forms. Though it is concluded that the scripts are representations of the objects for which they stand, few have yet been identified. A list has been given suggesting the possible identifications of some of the characters with the following: Men in various attitudes, man standing, man raising arms, man with bow and arrow, man holding yoke, man carrying two water-skins on a yoke, fish, hand with different numbers of fingers outstretched, birds, animals, plants, heart, spear, chair, table, parasol, road, foot, and insects. Modifications of the signs have been very frequently made by the use of 'additions', i.e. vertical or oblique strokes at the top or by 'enclosures', i.e. signs standing in the midst of usually vertical strokes and occasionally within a sort of parantheses. The direction of writing is usually from right to left but at times it is *boustrophedon*,

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i.e., from right to left in the first line, and left to right in the second. It has been inferred that the signs are probably syllabic. The devices on the seals do not appear to have any direct connection with the legends because the same animal is found to be represented with different inscriptions. The inscriptions are probably names of the owners and their qualifications or titles. It is difficult to get at a numerical system from the inscriptions and it is likely that the collections of strokes, though containing a number of units, had a phonetic value. According to Mr. Gadd, there are few resemblances between the Indus and Sumerian signs and the analogies between the Minoan and Indus scripts may only be fortuitous and sometimes far-fetched. There are, however, certain devices and punch-marks on some coins from N.W. India bearing a strong resemblance to the ancient pictographs. The following provisional conclusions regarding the scripts have been suggested:

(a) The writing is at least in part syllabic;

(b) The seal-inscriptions are generally names;

(c) The names belong to an Indo-Aryan language.

A combination of three signs has been tentatively taken to mean son (*putra*) and the values of the three signs have been reached on the basis of that assumption.

Mr. Smith holds that the inscriptions are not mere personal names. They contain symbols standing for ideas that may not form parts of names, e.g., repetitions of the picture of a bird; men may be called by the names of birds but their plural is not suitable for a personal name.

Prof. S. Langdon has made a separate sign-list containing 288 signs. He is definitely of opinion that the Brāhmī script is derived from the Indus pictographic writing. A few of the resemblances between the Brāhmī scripts and the Indus signs have been noted by him along with references to their syllabic values. The concluding lines of the chapter written by him are worth noting:

"If this script was preserved and finally issued into the alphabet of the Buddhist period, it proves that the Aryans must have had intimate contact with these founders of culture in India. In any way we

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may look at the problem, the Aryans in India are far more ancient than history admits. Their migration across Anatolia, where traces of them are found in the inscriptions of the Hittite capital, as early as the seventeenth century, is an hypothesis entirely contradictory to the new situation revealed by these discoveries in the Indus Valley. Far more likely is it that the Aryans in India are the oldest representatives of the Indo-Germanic race."

A year after writing the chapter, Prof. Langdon added a Postcript completing in the interval his study of over 200 tablets in the most archaic Sumerian script found at Jemdet Nasr, 17 miles N.E. of Kish, in 1926. The tablets were found with a mass of painted pottery akin to that of the Indus Valley found along with the Indus seals. As the result of this study, he is more emphatic than before on the definite connection between the most archaic Sumerian script and the Indus Valley script. The entire method of writing the Sumerian pictographs in the upright position exists on very few monuments, notably on the earliest of known survivals of writing, viz., the pictographic stone tablet at Kish. The Indus Valley system which still retains many traces of its pictographic origin, is true to its original principle, viz., running from right to left and retaining the upright position.

Religion

It has already been pointed out that no structural monument of any kind of a religious character has been discovered in the remains of buildings of Mohenjo-daro or Harappā. All that we have to rely upon for a clue to the nature of the religion of the people is the testimony of the seals, sealings, and copper-tablets, various figurines of terra-cotta, faience, or metal, and some stone images in the round. In spite of the meagreness of the materials, the light that is forthcoming is invaluable inasmuch as it will serve to remove, though partially, the haziness that hangs over the question of the religion of the pre-Aryans in India. While scholars like Monier-Williams and Hopkins regard the contribution of the Dravidians or other pre-Aryan races to Hinduism as negligible, or barbaric, comprising only the worse features of Hinduism, Oppert holds a different opinion. According to Oppert,

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the non-Aryans believed in the existence of one supreme spirit of Heaven, with whom was associated the goddess of Earth. Both ruled supreme over the entire world. There was also a general belief in the transmigration of souls after death. A number of figurines of terra-cotta, etc. (pls. xii, xciv, xcv) portrays a standing female, wearing only a girdle about her loins with an elaborate head-dress and collar, and sometimes with ornamental cheek cones and a necklace. In many of these specimens, the ear ornaments are like cups suspended on either side of the head (pl. xciv, 1, 5, 12; pl. xcv, 6, 7, 8). These figurines represent the Mother or Nature Goddess. Female statuettes like these have been discovered in many countries in Western Asia between Persia and the Ægean. The cult of Mother Goddess is believed to have originated in Anatolia (probably in Phrygia). The similarity between the figurines found in the Indus Valley and those in the other places is such that the conclusion cannot be resisted that they were used either as votive offerings or less probably as cult images in household shrines. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the range of these figurines extends over almost all the regions from the Indus to the Nile, which in the Chalcolithic Age were united by common cultural bonds. Apart from the testimony afforded by the similarity between the Indian examples of the figurines and those of other places, the presumption would be strong that they represent the Mother Goddess because the cult is nowhere in the world so widespread and deep-rooted as in India. She is the prototype of the power (*prakṛti*) which developed into *śakti*. She is represented in every village as the *Grāmadevatā* (village goddess) under various names (e.g., *Mātā, Ambā, Amma, Ambāmāī, Jagadmātā Devī*) and believed to be endowed with various attributes. She is dreaded by the people. She wards off evil spirits, imparts fertility, dispenses life, and gives all things. Nowadays, these village-goddesses are generally represented by rough-carved images and sometimes only by mere stones. Occasionally the shrines remain empty. It is reasonable to suppose that the cult originated in a matriarchal state of society like that of the Mother Goddesses of Western Asia, and these goddesses held a pre-eminent position among the deities of the non-Aryan people.

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The non-Aryan character of the cult

The non-Aryan character of the cult is indicated by its popularity among the primitive tribes, and also by the fact that in the rituals the leading part is played by the pariahs and not by Brāhmans. The cult is found in existence among some of the pre-Aryan tribes which never came within the ambit of Hinduism. There is no example of the elevation of a female deity to the supreme position of the Mother Goddess by the ancient Aryans in India or elsewhere. In the *Vedas*, the goddesses play a subordinate rôle; and it is only as consorts of the male deities that they acquired influence. The principal deities were also males. The Earth Goddess (*Pṛthivī*) of the Vedic Aryans was quite distinct from the Great Earth or Mother Goddess of the more ancient races. She is no doubt personified as a deity in the *Rg Veda*, sometimes alone and sometimes in combination with the sky, and was invoked for her benedictions, but it was only later when the amalgamation of the Aryans had taken place that her worship resembled that of the older goddess.

The interesting sealing from Harappā

An interesting sealing from Harappā (pl. xii, 12) shows a nude female figure turned upside down with the legs apart and a plant issuing from the womb. On the reverse side stand the figures of a man and a woman, the former with a sickle-shaped knife in hand and the latter seated on the ground with her hands raised in supplication. The same depicts a human sacrifice to the Earth Goddess on the obverse side appearing with two genii, the ministrants of the deity. The peculiar representation of the Earth Goddess is paralleled by a terra-cotta relief of the early Gupta age from Bhītā in the United Provinces showing the goddess with her legs in the same position and with a lotus issuing out of her neck instead of from her womb (*Arch. Sur. Report*, 1911-12, pl. xxiii, 40).

The prototype of Śiva at Mohenjo-daro

The important seal that contains a portrayal of the prototype of Śiva is No. 17 on pl. xii. The deity is three-faced, seated on a low throne in an attitude of *Yoga* with legs bent double and toes turned

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down. He has his arms outstretched and thumbs touching the knees. A pair of horns meets at the bottom of a tall head-dress. There are four animals, viz., an elephant and a tiger on his proper right, and a rhinoceros and a buffalo on his left. Two deer stand under the throne. An inscription of seven letters appears at the top. There is an example of the three-faced Śiva in a ruined temple at Devāṅgana near Mt. Abu and other examples are illustrated in Gopinath Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*. But as the germ of the conception of trinity can be traced to the *Ṛg Veda* though it did not assume a philosophic aspect until the historic period, it is quite possible that the same idea has been expressed. It is however more likely that at the outset, the god had three faces to signify his all-seeing attribute, and such images suggested the trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva.

The second feature by which this deity is connected wtih Śiva is the Yogī-like attitude, Śiva being the prince of Yogins. Like Śaivism itself, *Yoga* had its origin in the pre-Aryan population, and this explains why it was not until the Epic period that it played an important part in Indo-Aryan religion. Śiva being also the lord of beasts, the four animals have been depicted about him. The horns were used to denote a sacred character. In later times, they were replaced by the trident (*triśūla*). The two deer beneath the throne are found also in conection with many mediæval images of Śiva. These features also serve to connect the representation on the seal with Śiva. Another fact is also revealed by the finds at Mohenjo-daro. That the representation was not a mere anthropomorphic form of the god as conceived in the popular imagination but was also a cult idol is indicated by the highly conventionalized type of the image and by the discovery of a similar image on a faience sealing (pl. cxvi, 29 and pl. cxviii, 11) in which the deity is shown as being worshipped by Nāgas. The aniconic form of worship of the deity will be noticed below.

Śaktism

Śakti worship is of great antiquity in India. It developed out of the cult of the Mother Goddess. The underlying idea of Śaktism is the union of the eternal female principle with the eternal male principle. Though many of the rites connected with Śaktism are the additions of

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later Hinduism and the product of the Aryan influence, the basic elements are non-Aryan and very old. A close resemblance to the Indian Śakti cult is borne by some pre-Aryan cults of the Nearer East.

At Mohenjo-daro and Harappā some aniconic objects of stone and other materials have been discovered. Two of these (pl. xiv, 2 & 4) are realistically modelled phalli, showing beyond doubt that phallism had a pre-Aryan origin, and doing away with the theory that it was introduced into India by the Greek or other Western invaders. The other objects are more conventionalized in form varying in size from half an inch to about a foot. The miniature specimens were perhaps gamesmen or amulets. The ring-stones (pl. xiii, 9-12, pl. xiv, 6 & 8) range in size from half an inch to nearly four feet in diameter and have been found in large numbers. Those, for which no utilitarian purpose can be suggested are the *yonis* or female symbols of generation used as ex-voto offerings or for cult worship.

Tree-worship

The existence of tree-worship is evidenced by the representations on several seals and sealings. The most interesting of them is the fig. 18 on pl. xii. The tree is represented by two branches issuing out of a circle. The deity is a standing nude figure with long hair and *triśūla-horns* appearing between the branches. A half-kneeling figure appears before the tree. A composite animal is found behind the supplicant and seven standing figures with dresses down to the knees occupy the space below the tree. The leaves of the tree are like those of the pipal (*ficus religiosa*), the tree of knowledge held sacred by the people throughout India and under which Gautama Buddha obtained enlightenment. It is not yet known whether the people of Mohenjo-daro regarded the tree as the tree of knowledge but that it was held sacred may be inferred from the conventional treatment received by it in seal 387 on pl. cxii resembling the treatment of the sacred tree of life in Babylonia. The animal has been taken to be associated with the deity of the pipal tree as *vāhana*. Such association of animal with tree spirits is common in Hindu and Buddhist iconography and was traditional from pre-Aryan times.

Some sacred trees are found on a few sealings from Harappā (pl.

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xii, 16, 20, 21, 25, 26). Two at least of these trees are enclosed by a wall or a railing which is usually used as a symbol of sancity on later reliefs of the historic period.

Animal-worship

The animals represented on the seals and sealings, or by the figurines and stone images are of three kinds: (a) those of a mythical character, (b) those of a doubtful mythical character, and (c) those belonging to natural species. To the first category belong the representations of composite creatures. The stone images of such creatures were cult objects intended for worship. The representation of a semi-human and semi-bovine creature (seal 357) bearing an undeniable resemblance to the Sumerian god Enkidu, and the half-human, half-animal forms of what are regarded as Nāgas fall under this category. The second class of representations comprises figures like the unicorns, while the third the water buffalo, the *gaur* or the Indian bison, the Indian humped bull or *zebu*, the Indian rhinoceros, the short-horned humpless bull, the tiger and the elephant. Of these, three, viz., the bison, the rhinoceros and the tiger have in all cases been represented with troughs in front; the elephant and the buffalo are found with or without such troughs, while the zebu and the short-horned bull without them at all. It is surmised that the troughs symbolized food offerings, and so they indicate that the animals before which they are placed were objects of worship.

The animals that do not appear on the seals but are engraved on copper tablets or are found as figurines in the round are the ram, pig, dog, monkey, bear, hare, squirrel, parrot and some other birds that cannot be identified. Some of these were no doubt toys, but the remainder had a sacred character or was used as amulets or talismans.

The sanctity of water

Though no direct evidence has been found regarding the belief in the sacred character of water yet the important part played by it in the daily life of the people at Mohenjo-daro as indicated by the elaborate arrangements for bathing shows that ablution was regarded as a religious duty. It cannot, however, be said that the rivers were deified

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like the Ganges and the Jumna though the worship of rivers is very old in India.

Inferences drawn from the data

Excepting a few elements indicative of religious touch between the Indus Valley and Western Asia, e.g., the bison's horns as a symbol of divinity, all the material of a religious character discovered at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā is characteristically Indian. This material, small as it is, shows clearly that iconic and aniconic cults existed side by side as they do today in India. It brings to our view the worship of the Mother Goddess occupying even now a very high place among the village population and also the worship of the prototype of Śiva. Animals, trees and inanimate objects were worshipped or venerated as at present. The spirits living in the trees are given the human shape. *Liṅga* and *Yoni* have their share of worship as in Śaivism of later times. *Yoga* was in existenec as a religious practice. Though these evidences are not so ample as to enable us to visualize the religion of the Indus people with all its principal features, yet they indicate that this religion was the ancestor of Hinduism. We get a glimpse of its popular side but not of its more rational side nor of its esoteric and philosophic aspects. In the absence of documents giving us information on these points, it is not possible to come to any definite conclusions, but it is reasonable to presume that the Vedic literature could not have contained a large mass of beliefs and doctrines originally alien to their thoughts if they had not been borrowed from the pre-Aryans. An error is often committed in the assumption that the modern jungle tribes of India are the descendants of the pre-Aryans carrying on the cultural and religious traditions of the latter. The pre-Aryans had also their cultured classes living in the cities and, therefore, it is not correct to suppose that the beliefs and superstitions of the jungle folk today represent the pre-Aryan religion in its completeness.

Statuary

Of the few stone images in a tolerable state of preservation (pls. xcviii, xcix, 4-6; c, 1-3), the first represents a person engaged in *Yoga* with eyelids almost closed and the eyes turned towards the tip of the

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nose. Images such as this are mere repetitions of an ordinary standard type, which should not be taken as the examples by which to form an estimate of the character of Indian sculptures. The head represented on pl. xcix (4-6) with prominent cheek-bones, and wide and thin lips was the likeness of a person's head. In the seated image on pl. c (1-3), much skill has been displayed in the modelling of the bare right arm, etc. and in the imparting of a soft appearance to the texture of the flesh.

The bronze dancing girl (pl. xciv, 6-8) is of a somewhat rough workmanship. It represents a young aboriginal nautch girl with her hand on hip, and legs a little forward, the feet beating time to the music. In spite of defects, the artist has given evidence of his accurate observation. The two statuettes from Harappā (pls. x and xi) are more striking than the engraving of the bull on the seals mentioned before. They revolutonize the current ideas about early Indian art. In both the figures, there are socket holes in the neck and shoulders for the attachment of the head and arms made in separate pieces, and the nipples of breasts have been fixed in with cement. This feature is without a parallel among the sculptures of the historic period of the Indo-Hellenistic or other schools. The beauty of the redstone torso (pl. x) lies in the 'refined and wonderfully truthful modelling of the fleshy parts, the subtle flattening of the buttocks and the clever little dimples of the posterior superior spines of the ilium. This is a work of which a Greek of the fourth century B.C. might well have been proud. And yet the set of the figure, with its rather pronounced abdomen, is characteristically Indian and not Greek, and even if Greek influence could be proved, it would have to be admitted that the execution is Indian'. The other statuette (pl. xi) reprsents a dancer standing on the right leg with the left leg raised in front, the body from the waist upwards bent round to the left and both arms stretched in the same direction. The pose is full of movement. It is inferred from the abnormal thickness of the neck that the figure was three-headed or three-faced and in that case it represented the youthful Śiva Naṭarāja, or the head might have been that of an animal. Be that as it may, there is no parallel to this figure among the Indian sculptures of the historic period. The anatomical faithfulness in the two

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statuettes is startling; 'that makes us wonder whether in this all important matter, Greek artistry could possibly have been anticipated by sculptors of a far off age on the banks of the Indus. We know definitely that the Indus engraver could anticipate the Greek in the delineation of animal forms; and if we compare the statuette of pl. x with, for example, seal 337 we must admit that there is a certain kinship between the two both in the monumental treatment of the figures as a whole and in the perfection of their anatomical details'.

Ornaments

The ornaments were worn by both men and women of all classes. Girdles, ear-rings and anklets were used by women alone, and necklaces, fillets, armlets and finger-rings by men and women alike. The ornaments for the rich were of gold, silver, faience, ivory, and various kinds of semi-precious stones while those for the poor mainly of shell, bone, copper, and terra-cotta. The beads used in many of the ornaments are of various shapes and materials. They are barrel-shaped, globular, segmented and so forth, and made of gold, silver, copper, bronze, faience, glazed steatite, shell, bone, terra-cotta, or coloured stones. The bangles as worn by the figure of the dancing girl mentioned already encase the whole arm up to the arm-pit.

Household articles

Copper and bronze are found to have replaced stone as the material for household implements and vessels of copper and bronze are rather rare; faience was used only for small ornamental vases. Most of the household vessels were earthenware. They were of various shapes. Among them may be mentioned offering stands, beckers, bowls, goblets, dishes, basins, pans, saucers, pipkins, cups, ladles, jar-stands, heaters, and store-jars. Spindle-whorls are made of earthenware as well as of shell and faience, while flesh-rubbers, cake-moulds, dippers, and toys are made of earth. Bone, ivory, and shell were used for making needles, bodkins, combs, etc., and copper and bronze for manufacturing axes, saws, chisels, awls, sickles, razors, ladles, fish-hooks, etc.

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Toys

The specimens of toys brought to light are very interesting. They are rattles, whistles, clay models of men and women, animals, birds, carts, and household articles such as the baking pan. The whistles may be in the shape of birds or oxen yoked to the toy carts. These carts form the earliest representation of wheeled vehicles known to us, contemporary with the chariot depicted on a stone slab at Ur (about 3200 B.C.). The animal figurines in the round are mostly toys. Some may have been designed for serving as amulets. They include a bull of terra-cotta, a mastiff-like hound, seated rams, a squirrel, monkeys, etc. Some of the toy animals had detachable heads.

Games

Marbles and dice have been discovered among the relics. The marbles are made of agate, onyx and other stones, some looking very beautiful. The disposition of the numbers on the dice, which are usually cubes, is different from what we find on the modern European ones—1 being opposite to 2, 3 to 4, and 5 to 6 instead of 1 being opposite to 6, 2 to 5, and 3 to 4.

Weights

The Indus Valley weights are of interest, nearly all the small ones being cubes of chert. Some of them are of dark grey slate like the barrel-shaped weights of Elam and Mesopotamia. The large stone weights are conical and have a rim or a hole near their heads for the passage of a rope for easy handling. According to Mr. Hemmy, they are made with greater accuracy than those of Elam and Mesopotamia. The sequence of the ratios is binary at first like the Susa weights but subsequently decimal, viz., 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 160, 200, 320, 640, 1600.

Weapons

The weapons of the war or the chase are axes, spears, daggers, bows, arrows, maces, slings and perhaps catapults. The means of defence such as shields, helmets, greaves, and armour have not been

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found, nor has the sword, which became a characteristic weapon of the later Copper Age in the Jumna-Ganges valley, been discovered. The blade axes are of two types. The spear-heads are thin and broad in the blade without any mid-rib.

No specimen of stone arrow-heads has been found while only one specimen of copper arrow-head has been obtained suggesting that the bow and the arrow were not a favourite weapon. Maces are of stone and copper and of three shapes. The pear-shaped mace appears to have been the commonest. Sling balls are very numerous belonging to two kinds, viz., round and ovoid. Heavy balls which might have been used in catapults have been found, but it is not possible to state with confidence that the catapults were invented.

Cotton-spinning and textiles

It is evident from the discovery of many spindle-whorls in the houses at Mohenjo-daro that spinning was very common. It is also inferable that both the rich and the poor practised spinning because wheels are made of the expensive faience as also of the cheap pottery and shell. Wool was used for the warmer textile and cotton for the lighter one. A few minute pieces of cotton attached to a silver vase have been carefully examined in the Technological Laboratory of the Indian Central Cotton Committee. The specimen resembles the coarser kind of the present-day Indian cotton. Its convoluted structure shows that it could never have come from a wild species, such as *Gossypium stocksii* now found in Sind but without convolutions, nor from the *Bombax* species which has also no convolutions. This finding removes the current idea that the fine Indian cotton known to the Babylonians as *Sindhu* and to the Greeks as *Sindon* was the yield of the cotton tree and not a true cotton. The purple dye on a piece of the cotton material is thought to be the pigment furnished by the Madder plant.

Agriculture and food

Specimens of wheat and barley found among the ruins indicate that both these grains were cultivated by the people of Mohenjo-daro and Harappā. The kind of wheat that has been discovered is the one grown in the Punjab today while the barley has been identified with the kind

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found in pre-dynastic graves in Egypt. It is not known whether the hoe had already been replaced by the plough in the Indus Valley.

The food of the Indus people included besides the above cereals (stones of which have been found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā), beef, mutton, pork, poultry, flesh of the gharial, turtles and tortoises, fresh fish from the river and dried fish from the sea-coast as also shell-fish. That these were undoubtedly articles of diet is inferred from the fact that their shells and bones have been found in a half-burnt state in the houses of the two towns or among the offerings to the dead.

Disposal of the dead

The evidences available regarding the manner in which the people disposed of the dead may be classed into three heads, viz., (1) complete burials, (2) fractional burials, and (3) post-cremation burials. Examples of these three classes of burial have been found both at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā. The conclusion that has been reached after an examination of all the data is that it is probable that the usual method of disposing of the dead during the flourishing period of the Indus Valley civilization was cremation, the complete and fractional burials being exceptional, found among the foreign elements from the west in the population of the towns. All the skeletons unearthed at Mohenjo-daro belong to the Chalcolithic period and they may be taken as representative of the population of the city. Among them four ethnic types have been noticed, *viz.*, the Proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Mongolian branch of the Alpine stock, and the Alpine. The cosmopolitan character of the population in a place like Mohenjo-daro with easy land and water communications is quite natural. It was the meeting ground of the Proto-Australoids from the Indian sub-continent, Mediterraneans from the Southern shores of Asia, and Alpines and Mongoloid Alpines from the mountains of Western and Eastern Asia respectively. This craniological inference as to the mingling of diverse races finds some confirmation in the representations of the sculptured heads found at the place. But it will be better not to attach much weight to these evidences because the skulls are too few to support a definite conclusion while the artists were not so attentive to the shapes of the heads portrayed by them. The same remark also applies to the human

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remains found at Harappā. It is no yet possible to state which of the four racial types mentioned above was the prime author of the Indus Valley civilization. Various theories have already been hazarded on this point. Some have come to the conclusion that the authors of the civilization were Vedic Aryans and the Indus civilization shows therefore the antiquity of the Aryan domination in India. Others look upon the Indus people as the kith and kin of the Sumerians, or some allied race, which accounts for the common elements in the civilization of the Indus Valley and Sumer. But such conclusions rest on a very shaky basis and cannot be accepted, because the physical type of neither the Sumerians nor the Dravidians of five thousand years ago has been settled beyond doubt.

Cultural evidence as to the authorship of the Indus civilization

Now as to the question whether from cultural evidences, the Vedic Aryans can be said to have been the authors of the Indus civilization. A comparison of the two cultures yields a negative answer:

The Indo-Aryans not yet emerged from the village state

(1) The Indo-Aryan society as depicted in the Vedas is that of a partly pastoral, partly agriculture people, who have not yet emerged from the village state, who have no knowledge of life in cities or of the complex economic organization which such life implies, and whose houses are non-descript affairs constructed largely of bamboo. At Mohenjo-daro and Harappā, however, we have densely populated cities with solid, commodious houses of brick equipped with adequate sanitation, bathrooms, wells, and other amenities (p. 110). The picture of the Dāsas as found in the *Ṛgveda* is that of black-skinned, flat-nosed barbarians distinguished from the fair Aryans, though they were rich in cattle, good fighters, and possessed of many forts. These forts have been explained by Vedic scholars as mere earthworks surrounded by palisades or rough stone walls. It was never imagined that five thousand years ago, before the Aryans were heard of, the Punjab and Sind were enjoying a civilization closely akin but in some respects superior to that of Egypt and Mesopotamia at the time. This, however,

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has now been proved beyond question by the discoveries at Harappā and Mohenjo-daro (Preface).

Use of metals etc.

(2) The metals used by the Indo-Aryans of the time of the *Ryveda* are gold and copper or bronze which are supplemented by silver and iron at the time of the *Yajurveda* and *Atharvaveda*. Among the Indus people there is no vestige of iron, silver is more commonly used than gold, and stone is sometimes used (a relic of the Neolithic Age) for the manufacture of utensils as also copper and bronze.

Offensive and defensive weapons

(3) The Vedic Aryans used as offensve weapons the bow and arrow, spear, dagger and axe, and as means of defence the helmet and the coat of mail. The Indus people have all the weapons mentioned above as also the mace of stone or metal while the defensive armour is not known to them—a fact which must have made them weak in their contests with those who wore them.

The eating of meat and fish

(4) The Vedic Aryans were meat-eaters but had aversion to fish as no direct mention of fishing is found in the Vedas. Fish is, however, an ordinary article of food with the Indus people as also molluscs, turtles and other aquatic animals.

The horse

(5) The horse is found to have played an important part in the lives of the Vedic Aryans while to the people of Mohenjo-daro and Harappā, it seems to have been unknown, having no place at least among the many animals figured on the seals, etc.

The cow and other animals

(6) The cow is the object of special veneration in the Vedas but among the Indus people, it is replaced by the bull. There is no mention of tiger in the Vedas while the elephant is little known but they are familiar to the Indus people.

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Iconism and other features of the religion of the people

(7) Aniconism is the normal feature of the Vedic religion while iconism is in evidence everywhere at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā. The female principle is almost wholly subordinate to the male in the Vedic religious beliefs and neither the Mother Goddess nor Śiva has any place in the Vedic pantheon but among the people of the Indus Valley, the cults of the Mother Goddess and Śiva are in the forefront and the female principle stands on the same footing as the male, if not higher. Fire (*Agni*) is a very prominent deity in the Vedas and the *agnikuṇḍa* should be found in every house but this is lacking in the houses at Mohenjo-daro. There is ample evidence of phallus worship among the Indus people but it was abhorrent to the Indo-Aryans.

Was Vedic civilization the progenitor or descendant of the Indus culture?

The hypothesis that the Vedic civilization was either the progenitor or the descendant of the Indus civilization and the differences marked above are only those brought about by time is untenable. Assuming that it was the progenitor, the evolution from the village to the city state is a question of time and a long interval has to be allowed for the progress. But this cannot account for the other cultural features. If the Vedic culture preceded the Indus, how is it that iron, the horse and the defensive armour known to the former remained unknown to the latter? How could the bull replace the cow only to be superseded by the latter in the succeeding period? How does the Indus civilization possess so many survivals of the Neolithic Age—stone implements and vessels—if the copper, bronze, and iron culture of the Indo-Aryans intervened?

Now let us suppose the Vedic civilization was evolved out of that of the Indus Valley, or in other words, that the Vedic Aryans were the authors of both the Vedic and the Indus civilization. On this assumption we can account for the introduction of the horse, the defensive armour, and iron at a later stage of the same culture, but we cannot explain the relapse of the people from the city to the village state, or the disappearence of the worship of Śiva, the *liṅga* and the Mother Goddess

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in the Vedic period after their existence in the preceding one, and their emergence again in post-Vedic times. It is also difficult to explain how having occupied Sind, they forgot this country and the Lower Indus. Thus it is not possible to find a common source for the Vedic and the Indus civilizations or explain their differences on any other hypothesis than that the Vedic was later and had an independent development.

Prof. Langdon's view regarding the antiquity of the Aryans in India opposed by Sir John Marshall

Now the question arises as to how long after the disappearance of the Indus civilization at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā followed the Vedic civilization. Prof. Langdon has expressed the opinion that the Indo-Aryan civilization had been established in India long before 1500 B.C. when, according to the majority of Vedic scholars, the Indo-Aryans first came to India. This opinion is based on his inference that the early Brāhmī script is derived from that of the Indus Valley—a fact which shows that the Indo-Aryans were in contact with the authors of the Indus civilization. The Aryans are far more ancient in India than history admits and the theory of their migration across Anatolia founded upon the inscriptions in the Hittite capital *circa* 1700 B.C. is contradicted by the new situations as revealed by the excavations in the Indus Valley. Assuming that the Indo-Aryans derived the Brāhmī script from the Indus signs, there is yet no evidence that this transpired before the latter half of the second millennium B.C. Though the remains at Mohenjo-daro belong to a period earlier than the first quarter of the third millennium B.C. and the city of Harappā fell into ruins a few centuries afterwards, it should not be supposed that the Indus civilization disappeared altogether at that time. The remains at Jhukar about 20 miles from Mohenjo-daro indicate, on the contrary, that the Indus civilization continued to exist long after the ruin of Mohenjo-daro and Harappā. Though the glories of the cities had passed away, the important art of writing could well have continued to be practised. Hence the fact of the derivation of the Brāhmī script from the Indus pictographs cannot be made to support the inference that the Indo-

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Aryans were established in India long before 1500 B.C. making it possible for them to have a contact with the authors of the Indus civilization.

I have attempted to touch the most prominent and interesting points in this brief survey of the big treatise. For an acquaintance with the wealth of minor details which may be of interest to the curious reader, a perusal of the work is recommended. Sir John Marshall and his collaborators should be congratulated on the completion of this work which is so large in volume and arduous in its execution. For many years, scholars of Indian history have been trying to push further into the domain of the unknown or conjectural past the boundaries of full-lighted history but with very little tangible results. Without fresh data made available through excavations, which have supplied such rich raw materials for the reconstruction of the history of many other countries but have not been utilized in the fullest degree in India for want of funds, the steel framework of the historical edifice cannot be brought into being. The results of the excavations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā have roused the hope that the many pre-historic sites that lie to the west of the two cities extending up to the heart of Baluchistan may yield their hidden treasures to the strenuous efforts of the antiquary. It is earnestly expected that the Indian archæological department should be re-equipped with adequate facilities to direct their labours in this direction as soon as circumstances permit it.

Before bringing this survey to a close, I want to make a few remarks on the conclusions reached by Sir John on the strength of the cultural evidence as to the authorship of the Indus civilization.

Remarks on Sir John's conclusions

He looks upon the middle of the second millennium B.C. as the approximate period when the Indo-Aryans entered the Puñjab. Hence, the centuries anterior to it must be regarded as pre-Vedic and the authorship of the civilization existing during these centuries cannot but be attributed to people other than the Indo-Aryans. It is, however, not reasonable to draw the line of demarcation between the Vedic and the pre-Vedic period at about 1500 B.C. making the *Ṛgveda*, the earliest record of the Indo-Aryans, later than that date.

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Prof Max Müller's view as to the upper limit of the age of the Ṛgveda. Re. circa 1500 B.C. as the date of the arrival of Aryans in India

There are however strong reasons for holding that the *Ṛgveda* is much earlier, and the picture of the Indo-Aryan civilization as depicted in the treatise can well be contemporaneous with that of the Indus Valley civilization (*circa* 2800 B.C.). It is generally supposed that Prof. Max Müller considered 1200-1000 B.C. as the upper limit of the *Ṛgveda* but as a matter of fact "he always considered 1200-1000 B.C. only as a *terminus ad quem*" as in his Gifford lectures on physical religion (1889) he clearly states "that we cannot hope to fix a *terminus a quo*. Whether the Vedic hymns were composed 1000, or 1500, or 2000, or 3000 years B.C., no power on earth will ever determine".[1]

Prof. Winternitz's opinion: 2500 B.C. as the upper limit

Prof. Winternitz holds the view that "as all the external evidence fails, we are compelled to rely on the evidence arising out of the history of Indian literature itself for the age of the Veda. We cannot explain the development of the whole of this great literature if we assume as late a date as round about 1200 or 1500 B.C. as its starting point. We shall probably have to date the beginning of this development about 2000 or 2500 B.C. and the end of it between 750 and 500 B.C."[2] Of the many arguments advanced by Prof. Winternitz in support of this opinion, I shall state here only three:

(a) The development of Vedic literature through oral tradition, through generations of teachers and pupils required longer intervals of time than would have been necessary if the texts had been in writing. Many centuries elapsed, therefore, between the composition of the earliest hymns, and their final compilation into a *Saṃhitā*. The *Ṛgveda* denotes after all only the close of a long period of such handing down of the texts through oral tradtition.[3]

1 See Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. 1 (1927), p. 293. Cf. Zimmermann, *Second Selection of Hymns from the Ṛgveda*, appendix V, p. cxxxi.

2 See Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. 1 (1927), p. 310.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 302.

(b) It has been shown by Prof. Bloomfield that of the lines of the *Ṛgveda* numbering about 40,000, as many as 5000 are repetitions. This shows that the old poets had predecessors. Moreover, these predecessors were even then regarded as composers of hymns of a remote antiquity.[1]

(c) The strongest argument in support of a later dating of the Veda is its connection with the Avesta in respect of language and religious view. The points of agreement in religion are counteracted by the very great differences found to exist in regard to same; moreover, the points of agreement can be easily explained in view of the facts that the Indians and Iranians constituted one Aryan cultural unit at a pre-Vedic and pre-Avestic period, and they continued as neighbours even after the separation.[2]

Corollary from the application of Prof. Winternitz's view

Thus, if the development of the *Ṛgveda* commenced from about 2500 B.C., the Indo-Aryans must have witnessed the continuance of the Indus Valley civilization at Harappā, though Mohenjo-daro had fallen into ruin; because Harappā, according to Sir John, continued to exist for a few centuries after the destruction of Mohenjo-daro about 2750 B.C.

No importance is attached to Prof. Jacobi's and Prof. Tilak's views in the present discussion

I do not wish to attach importance, in the present discussion, to the estimate of the *Ṛgveda* made by Prof. Jacobi or Prof. Tilak on the basis of the precession of the equinoxes. The former dates its beginning in about 4500 B.C. while the latter dates some of the hymns as far back as 6000 B.C. The principal reason why these calculations are not regarded as of sufficient weight by many scholars is that the passages on which the calculations are based admit of various interpretations.

The calculation of the age of the Veda from the reference to the polar star more convincing

Prof. Jacobi thought himself confirmed in his estimate of the age

1 Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 301. 2 *Ibi l.*, p. 308.

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of the *Rgveda* by the passages in the *Gṛhyasūtras* relating to the marriage ceremonial in which the polar star was pointed out to the bride as the symbol of constancy. According to Prof. Zimmermann, this argument is "more convincing than that founded on the *nakṣatras* and the equinoxes".[1] On the strength of this argument the Vedic civilization is to be "put at the period antecedent to the third millennium", because the Alpha Draconis was, about 2780 B.C., the only star bright enough to serve the purpose of the polar star. Dr. Bühler supports in a general way the estimates of the age of the Veda made by Prof. Jacobi and Prof. Tilak: "As thus numerous facts connected with the political, literary and religious history of India force me to declare that the commonly credited estimate of the antiquity of the Indo-Aryan civilization is very much too low, it is natural that I find Prof. Jacobi's and Prof. Tilak's views not *prima facie* incredible, and that I value the indications for the former existence of a *mṛgaśiras series* of the *nakṣatras* very highly.....It is of great advantage to those who like myself feel compelled by other reasons to place the entrance of the Aryans into India long before the year 2000 B.C."[2]

The existence of the Aryans in India about 2500 B.C. or 2780 B.C. and the resulting infrences

It is now evident that there are strong grounds for holding that the development of the Vedic literature began at about 2500 B.C. if not earlier. Hence, it is not permissible to attribute the authorship of *all the relics*, brought to light through excavations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā, to the non-Aryans, simply because the Aryans are supposed not to have been in existence in India before 1500 B.C. If the Aryans be held to have been in India about 2780 B.C. referred to above, then they must have co-existed with the inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro for three decades, as the occuption of Mohenjo-daro lasted up to 2750 B.C. (from 3250 B.C.) while the acceptance of earlier dates for the development of the Vedic literature gives rise to other possibilities as to the connection of the Aryans with the authorship of the Indus Valley civilization.

1 Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, appendix V, p. cxl.

2 *Indian Antiquary*, 1894, p. 248.

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But setting aside the earlier dates and taking our stand on 2500 B.C. as the beginning of Vedic literature in India, we find that certain inferences emerge out of the available data.

The transmission of the knowledge of script to the Indo-Aryans

Prof. Langdon's inference of the derivation of the Brāhmī script from the Indus Valley pictographs becomes in that case easily supportable, because it is only natural that there should be borrowings between people living as neighbours or in the same place. Sir John tries to explain Prof. Langdon's inference (assuming it to be true for argument's sake) by stating that though Mohenjo-daro and Harappā were ruined, the Indus civilization continued to exist long after their destruction. The remains at Jhukar about 20 miles from Mohenjo-daro prove this. Hence, the important art of writing could have been borrowed from Jhukar or some such place by the Indo-Aryans after their arrival in India about 1500 B.C. If Sir John concedes this means of derivation of the knowledge of the Brāhmī script from the Indus pictographs, he has to make similar other concessions, e.g., about the knowledge of the construction of buildings.

The knowledge of the construction of buildings

The knowledge of this art is denied by Sir John to the earliest Indo-Aryans because all the references in the *Ṛgveda* to the *purs* or cities have been taken by him, on the strength of the explanations of several Vedic scholars, to mean nothing but "simple earthworks surrounded, may be, by palisades or rough stone walls" (Preface). The grounds for such explanations as also the reference to the *purs* will be found in the following extracts from the *Vedic Index* (vol. I, p. 538 f. under *Pur*):

"*Pur* is a word of frequent occurrence in the *Ṛgveda* and later, meaning rampart, fort or stronghold. Such fortifications must have been occasionally of considerable size, as one is called broad and wide. Elsewhere a fort made of stone is mentioned. Sometimes strongholds of iron were referred to but these are probably only metaphorical. (Perhaps sun-dried bricks are alluded to by *āmā*—*Ṛv.*, ii, 35,6).....Forts with a hundred walls are spoken of.

"It would probably be a mistake to regard these forts as perma-

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nently occupied fortified places like the fortresses of the mediaeval barony. They were probably merely places of refuge against attack, ramparts of hardened earth with palisades and a ditch. Pischel and Geldher, however, think that there were towns with wooden walls and ditches like the Indian town of Pāṭaliputra, known to Megasthenes and the Pali texts. This is possible but hardly susceptible of proof and it is not without significance that the word *nagara* is of late occurrence. On the whole, it is hardly likely that in early Vedic times, city-life was much developed.....The siege of forts is mentioned in the *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*". Arguments in support of the views embodied in the extract quoted above are found in the following passage (*VI.*, I, 539 f.n.):

"Neither the Germans nor the Slavs lived in towns. It is true that the Greeks when we first find them evidently knew castles and fortresses of the mediaeval type, but the Greeks were clearly an invading race, superimposed on an older, and in civilization, more advanced people." On the analogy between the Indo-Aryans, and the Germans and Slavs, the former are believed not to have founded any forts etc., while the supposed differences between the ancient Indo-Aryans and the Greeks were taken to point to the same conclusion. Sir John believes the Dāsas in the *Ṛgveda* to have possessed forts etc. in view of the newly discovered remains of big buildings on the Indian soil, the construction of which is attributed by him to the non-Aryans because the Aryans were not in India at the time. If the *purs* referred to in the *Ṛgveda* be interpreted as castles or forts in the case of the Dāsas, it will be inconsistent not to do so in the case of the Indo-Aryans, because such a differentiation will not be reasonable in the interpretations of the same word in the same historical record. Moreover, in view of the chronological data stated already, the possession of forts etc. by the ancient Indo-Aryans of the time of the *Ṛgveda* does not appear to be an improbability. The interpreters of the term *pur* in the *Ṛgveda* were influenced, I believe, by the consideration that as no remains of buildings of considerable size had been discovered on the Indian soil prior to the first millennium B.C., the *purs* could have been but simple earthworks. Profs. Pischel and Geldner were led by the statements

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of Megasthenes regarding Pāṭaliputra to look upon the *purs* as towns with wooden walls and ditches. Had the discoveries of the towns of Harappā and Mohenjo-daro been made at the time when the scholars wrote, their impressions about the *purs* in the *Ṛgveda* would I think have been otherwise.

In view of what has been stated above, Sir John's opinion that the ancient Indo-Aryans of the *Ṛgveda* had not yet emerged from the village state does not appear to be well-grounded. [Vide *item* (*i*)].

I shall now examine the other items in Sir John's arguments regarding the authorship of the Indus civilization. But before doing so, an important fact should be borne in mind, viz., that conclusions are being drawn from the analogies and differences between the picture of the civilization as drawn in the *Ṛk*- and later Vedas, and the data that have hitherto been available through excavations. These conclusions by their nature can at best be approximations to truth, because the information gathered from the Vedas cannot be regarded as absolutely exhaustive; for it is quite probable that the non-mention of a thing, e.g., in the *Ṛgveda* is not actually the negation of its existence in the *Ṛgvedic* period. Moreover, when so many prehistoric sites still remain to be excavated, the finds from only one or two places cannot be taken to supply a picture reflecting in every minute detail the civilization of the time to which they relate. The larger the number of finds, and the larger the number and volume of the texts used regarding a period, the greater the approximations to truth, but the limitations of the evidences of this nature are always there.

Metals

Re. *item* (2). It is stated by him that among the finds at Mohenjo-daro there is no vestige of iron, while in the list of metals in the *Ṛgveda*, iron does not find a place. This is rather a similarity between the Indus Valley and the *Ṛgvedic* civilization and not a point of difference. Gold, copper and bronze are stated to be in use among the Indus Valley people as also among the Ṛgvedic Aryans. This is also a similarity. As regards silver, it was in use among the Indus people and also among the people of the time of the *Atharvaveda* and the *Vajurveda* (*VI.*, II, p. 197); hence the absence of the term in

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the *Ṛgveda* cannot be taken to be indicative of the non-existence of the metal among the Indo-Aryans of the Ṛgvedic period.

As to the evidences of the stone utensils and implements in the *Ṛgveda*, we find references to the mortar and pestle made of stone (*upara*, *dṛṣad*, and *ulūkhala*). Mention is made of various kinds of receptacles such as *soma* vessel (*amatra*), vessel for liquids (*āsecana*), buckets (*āhāra*), cooking pot (*ukhā*), drinking vessel (*pātra*) and household utensils (*pārīṇahya*). The material of which these vessels were made is not expressly mentioned. They might have been made of stone.

Sling-stones are also mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* (Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 307) and Schrader, *Pre-historic Antiquities*, p. 221).

Weapons

Re. *item* (3). As regards the weapons, the bow and arrow, spear, dagger and axe are common to both the Indus and the *Ṛgvedic* civilization. The discovery of the mace at Mohenjo-daro (found in the *Atharva-veda* and the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* but not in the *Ṛgveda*) does not introduce so much difference as to counteract the effect of the similarity between the two sets of five weapons mentioned above.

The coat of mail was either of leather or of metal among the Ṛgvedic Aryans (see *Vedic Index* under *varman*). If the coats of mail of the Indus people had been of leather, it is nothing strange that they should be destroyed by the action of the salty soil or through other causes. Regarding the helmets, it is quite possible that they may come to hand through further excavations if they were not composed of a perishable material.

Slingstones were used by both the Indus and the Ṛgvedic people.

Eating of meat and aversion to fish-eating

Re. *item* (4). Meat-eating was prevalent among the Indus people as also among the Indo-Aryans. The reference to the aversion of the earliest Indo-Aryans to fish-eating has no support in the *Ṛgvedic* text.

The horse, cow, tiger, and elephant

Re. *items* (5) and (6). The non-discovery of the representations

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of the horse and the cow on the seals cannot be made to yield the inferences drawn by Sir John regarding the two animals, viz., that the horse was unknown to the Indus people, and the bull was the object of veneration among them instead of the cow which was prized and venerated so much by the Vedic Aryans. My objection to these two inferences is based upon the following reasons: It must be shown by Sir John (a) that the non-discovery of the representations of the horse and the cow on the seals is not due to accident, and that this discovery will not be made at some future date as the excavations proceed; and (b) that because the representations of some other animals appear on the seals, those of the horse and the cow should also have been among them for the reason that the horse and the cow stood on the same footing as the other animals in regard to their talismanic or other values among the Indus people, which brought about the portrayal of the latter animals on the seals.

So long as these two points are not sufficiently proved, the inferences mentioned above cannot be drawn from the negative evidence of the non-appearance of the two animals on the seals. Moreover, as regards the bull, the question of this animal replacing the cow as an object of veneration among the Vedic Aryans does not arise, because the bull was also much prized by the Vedic Aryans as will be evident from the following extract from Prof. Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 150: "Indra is in the *Rv.* constantly designated as a bull, a term applied much less frequently to Agni, and occasionally to other gods, such as Dyaus. In the *Av.*, a bull is addressed as Indra and in the *Ś.B.*, the bull is stated to be Indra's form..... .In one of the sacrifices of the Vedic ritual, a bull represents the god Rudra."

Regarding the representations of the tiger on the seals, Mr. Mackay states (*Mohenjo-daro* etc., pp. 387, 388) that the identification is inferred from the stripes on the body of the animal, but the figures may well be those of a hyena. An ancient seal depicting a man, or a tree with a hyena at its base has been discovered at Kish. Some of the Indian seals also represent a tree with a man on it and the animal at its base. It cannot be said with certainty that the figure on the Indian seals is not a hyena. If this be the case, there are references in the *Rgveda* to *śālavṛka* (X, 73, 2; 95, 15) meaning hyena. Assuming however that the

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figure on the seal is that of a tiger, the silence of the *Ṛgveda* on this point is not of much consequence, because the tiger existed during the continuance of the Mohenjo-daro civilization and is also mentioned in the Vedic literature immediately later than the *Ṛgveda* viz. in the *Atharvaveda*, *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, etc. (see *VI.*, II, p. 337 under *vyāghra*). Hence, if the tiger existed in North-Western India during the period 3250 B.C. to 2750 B.C. and also at the time of composition of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* and the *Atharvaveda* in the second millennium B.C., the silence of the *Ṛgveda* which, according to Sir John, falls between the two periods cannot but be taken to be a mere absence of the term caused by the want of a necessity in the *Ṛgvedic* hymns to refer to the animal.

According to Sir John, the elephant was little known to the Vedic Aryans but was familiar to the Indus people. The *Ṛgveda* however mentions *vāraṇa* and *hastin* signifying the elephant (*Vedic Index*). "It was tamed, as the expression *hastipa* (elephant-keeper) [*Taittirīya Saṃhitā and Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*] shows, and tame elephants were used to catch others" (*VI.*, II, p. 501). So it cannot be said that the elephant was little known to the Vedic Aryans. On the other hand, we find Mr. Mackay stating that "possibly the elephant was not so well-known to the inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro as we thought at first. It may never have been wild in Sind and have been used by a few people only for purposes of State" (*Mohenjo-daro* etc., p. 388).

Aniconism

Re. *item* (7). Sir John states that aniconism is the normal feature of the Vedic religion while iconism is in evidence at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā. In spite of the silence of the *Ṛgveda* on many of the points on which we require information, we find it mentioning *an image of Indra*, for which ten cows were not an adequate price (*Cambridge Hist. of Ind.*, I, pp. 97, 106). It is also stated by Prof. Keith in the same chapter of the *Cambridge History of India*, p. 103, that the "objects of the devotion of the priests were the great phenomena of nature, conceived as alive, and usually represented in anthropomorphic shape, though not rarely theriomorphism is referred to."

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Which of the two principles, male or female, is higher?

Sir John is of opinion that 'the female principle is almost wholly subordinate to the male in the Vedic religious beliefs, while among the people of the Indus Valley, the female principle stands on the same footing as the male, if not higher. From the data discovered at Mohenjo-daro, it is not possible to estimate the degree of reverence with which the people used to look upon the female deities as compared with the male. The larger number of images representing female figures as compared with those representing male may be conceded in this discussion to be an index to the popularity the female representation, but yet it cannot be a proof of the higher position occupied by it in the religious beliefs of the people as compared with the male deities. For, the popularity of a deity does not necessarily indicate a higher position. The god *Kārtikeya*, for instance, is very popular in Bengal, considering the number of his images worshipped every year in the various households, but yet he does not occupy a position in the highest rank of the Hindu pantheon. Moreover, the theory that the female principle is almost subordinate to the male in the *Ṛgveda* should be taken with a great limitation because of the henotheistic tendency.

It is stated that the Mother Goddess and Śiva have no place in the Vedic pantheon while they are in the foreforn among the Indus people. Regarding the Mother Goddess, Sir John says "*Pṛthivī*, the Earth Goddess of the Vedic Aryans, was a figure quite distinct from the great Earth or Mother Goddess of the older peoples." He relies on this passage in Dr. Oppert's *Original Inhabitants of India* (p. 402): "No doubt *Dyaus* and *Pṛthivī* appear in the *Ṛgveda* respectively as God of Heaven and Goddess of Earth, and are called father and mother, but the latter expression admits of a totally different explanation, and does not indicate a worship of Mother Earth such as we find among the Gauḍa-Dravidian Hindus, a worship which in this form is also now here found among the other Aryan nations." It is clear however that the idea of the creative female principle was inherent in the conception of the Goddess Earth among the early Indo-Aryans. In later times, the worship of the creative female energy personified as a separate deity was the natural

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result of the separation of the ideas imbedded in the conception of the Goddess Earth.

Śiva-worship

The statement that *Śiva* had no place among the gods of the *Ṛgvedic* pantheon, while it was worshipped by the Indus people, and therefore the god was borrowed by the Indo-Aryans from the non-Aryan Indus people requires a close examination. It is admitted by the scholars generally that Rudra found in the *Ṛgveda* is the predecessor of *Śiva*. In the *Ṛgveda*, he is destructive (II, 33, 11) as well as beneficent. For the term beneficent, the word *śiva* has been used (*Rv.*, X, 92, 9). He has matted locks (*kapardin—Rv.* I, 114, 1 & 4)—the characteristic of an ascetic. *Yoga* is not unknown in the *Ṛgveda* as can be inferred from the hymn X 136. Here the ecstasy and other characteristics of a *Yogin* are found in a *muni*. In the *Atharvaveda* (II, 34, 1; XI, 2; etc.) he is *paśupati* (lord of beasts) and also thousand-eyed (*Av.* XI, 2, 2 & 7). The latter epithet indicates that the god looks in all directions. The three or four faces of the god depicted on the seal (pl. XII, 17) point to the same conception (*Mohenjo-daro etc.*, 53 f., n. 1). For these reasons, the figure may well be taken as a form of Rudra of the Vedic Aryans. Moreover, there is no reason to infer that a deity who is pre-eminently a *Yogin* should be borrowed from the non-Aryans of the Indus Valley. The pracitce of *Yoga* was a speciality of the Indo-Aryans as evidenced by their extensive literature on the subject; and therefore it is reasonable to think that the figure of Rudra seated in the attitude of a *Yogin* should be a representation of a deity of the Indo-Aryans rather than of the Indus Valley non-Aryans, among whom the prevalence of the practice of *Yoga* and belief in its virtues are yet to be proved.

The grounds for inferring that the phallus worship was borrowed from the non-Aryans are, I think, two viz.

(a) The Indo-Aryans did not exist in India before 1500 B.C., an inference that has served as the background of all the conclusions noted previously, and

(b) the passages in the *Ṛgveda* (VII, 21, 5; X, 99, 3) which have been interpreted to refer to the phallus worship as abhorrent to the Vedic Aryans.

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The first ground has already been dealt with. As regards the second, the expression *śiśnadeva* in the passages in the *Ṛgveda* refers to the enemies overthrown by India. That these enemies were non-Aryans cannot be inferred with certainty. It is probable that among the Aryans themselves, there were hostile sections, looking down upon one another on religious grounds. In the passages, the section worshipping Indra is making a contemptuous reference to the one worshipping *Śiśna*. Prof. Keith could not ignore this probability. In his *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda* (vol. I, p. 129), he says "or again they (phallus worshippers) may simply be mentioned as defeated by Indra, as princes whom we have no reason to doubt as Aryan are represented as being defeated for another prince by the aid of the god, as when for Tūrvayāṇa, Āyu, Atithigva, and Kutsa are overthrown".

Worship of Agni

It is stated by Sir John that fire (*agni*) is a very prominent deity in the Vedas and the *agnikuṇḍa should* be found in every house, but this is lacking in the houses at Mohenjo-daro. There is no evidence however in the *Ṛgveda* that there was an *agnikuṇḍa* in every house. This may have been a later development.

Conclusion

Sir John points out that if we assume the Vedic Aryans to be either the progenitors or the descendants of the Indus people, we are reduced to absurd positions. The dilemma presented by him loses its strength in view of the arguments already adduced by me, showing that the conclusions, with which the results of the assumptions come into conflict, are not tenable. Therefore, the position that appears reasonable is that until further definite clues are forthcoming, the attribution of the authorship of the Indus Valley civilization to the non-Aryans is not justified.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

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The English Translation of the Kautilīya

(a rejoinder)

In the June issue of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1931, I pointed out a large number of blemishes in the 3rd edition of Dr. R. Shamashastry's English translation of the Seventh Book of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* with the object that they might be removed in the 4th edition. It was also pointed out that if the translator had devoted a little more labour to the task, he could have removed them. In his prefaces to the former editions of the translation, he made promises of removing the many inaccuracies in the light of the commentaries discovered since the publication of the 1st edition of the translation, but the promises were not redeemed. Moreover, a large volume of literature has grown up since that time as the result of researches in the *Kauṭilīya* throwing much light on the many obscure points in various places in the treatise. It was naturally expected that in the 3rd edition he would utilize the light forthcoming from this volume of literature, but he has waywardly ignored it. It was therefore a necessity, in view of the importance of the treatise, to draw his pointed attention to the unjustifiable remissness in this direction, and I did it in June last. I confined my remarks only to the Seventh Book of the *Kauṭilīya*, as it was one of the most important portions of the work, and showed how his wrong translation had misled even scholars who relied on it as correct and did not consult the text. The translator instead of taking my criticisms in a good spirit has, I find, fallen into a fit of hysterics of futile rage, as will be evident from the reply he has given to my criticisms in the April number of the *Calcutta Review*, 1932. He has indulged in personal invectives, which can by no means strengthen his very weak defence. It is very easy to pour on him abuses more pungent than those he has done on me but they do not either require or do credit to scholarship. I shall treat each of the several items of his reply one by one, but before I do so I want to remind the translator that he is hopelessly wrong in thinking that a knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar or of the Sanskrit language is his monopoly. I want also to point out that if by his opprobrious reference to the *Cāṇakyarājanīti-śāstra*, he means his own *Cāṇakyasūtrāṇī*, I have no quarrel with him,

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but if he means by it some work written or edited by me, he is only visualizing his own propensity in a hallucination under a strong influence of the moon, because I have never written or edited any work of that name. Regarding an inuendo about the Utopian nature of my *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India*, I have only to state that if he means it seriously, let him make it a major issue with his arguments in its support, and I know how to meet them. A mere inuendo about the book sounds to me like the puling of a weakling.

The translator has been compelled to admit in some places in his reply that he has committed the errors as pointed out by me, but yet he accompanies most of his admissions with such remarks and arguments as nullify their effect. I mention below a few instances of such admissions:—

The *Calcutta Review* (abbreviated below as *CR.*,) p. 117, item (14) "The equivalent of the word 'paropakāra', helping the enemy has somehow or other dropped out of the translation".

CR., p. 118, item (15) "The omission of the word 'sambandhāvekṣī' in the translation is an oversight here."

p. 127, item (42) "The word 'daṇḍopanāyi-vṛttam' means the attitude of a conquering king. Conquered king in the translation is a mistake for conquering king".

p. 129, item (44) "The omission of *pareṇa* 'by an enemy' in the translation is a mistake."

p. 130, item (45) "The omission of 'prakṛti' is an oversight."

p. 131, item (47) "Here 'and joins an enemy (amitraṃ gacchet)' is omitted."

These examples remind me of the village parson who 'even though vanquished could argue still.'

The translator (referred to as T later on) states in regard to some of my interpretations of the *Kauṭilīya* passages that they are not acceptable to the Sanskritists. I shall point out at the proper places the nature of the support upon which they rest, but want

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to cite two instances against which T's objection mentioned above has been specially directed. He remarks

CR., p. 122, item (26) "The critic says that 'cakra' means army. It may mean so in his imaginary dictionary". (For the passage, see *K.*, VII, 13, p. 301 last but one line).

I am surprised at the poor knowledge of Sanskrit possessed by T. He does not know that every standard Sanskrit dictionary puts down 'army' as one of the meanings of 'cakra'. The *Amarakośa* II, kṣattriyavarga, 79 has **वरूथिनी बलं सैन्यं चक्रञ्चानीकमस्त्रियाम्**, the *Vaijayantī* (Oppert's ed., p. 108, l. 109) **सैन्यं चक्रं बलं सेना चमूर्वाहिन्यनीकिनी**, and the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* (Aufrecht's ed., 2, 302)

चक्रं चमूर्वरूथिन्यनीकिनी स्यादनीकं च ।

Although the portion of the *Nayacandrikā* dealing with the present chapter of the *Kauṭilīya* is not available, its comment elsewhere, i.e., on *K.*, X, 2 (*Nayacandrikā*, p. 173, l. 7) supports my contention. Here *cakrānteṣu* has been paraphrased as *sainyapaścādbhāge*.

Before making remarks on others' knowledge of Sanskrit, he could even have consulted any Sanskrit-English Dictionary like those of Apte, Macdonell, and Monier-Williams.

Again, in the opinion of T, 'cala' cannot mean 'unstable'. I objected (*IHQ.*, VII, p. 409) to his rendering of the words *calaṃ mitram* by the words 'a wandering friend (i.e., a nomadic king)' and remarked that *cala* means 'unstable' in the passage. To this T (*CR.*, p. 131, item 47) replies,

" 'calaṃ mitram' means a moving or wandering friend like an āṭavika. 'Calaṃ lakṣyam' means a moving object aimed at, but not an unstable object. 'Cañcala' means unstable."

Any person with an elementary knowledge of Sanskrit knows that the word 'cala' can have the meaning as suggested by me. It is curious that according to T, 'cañcala' can mean 'unstable' but not 'cala.' The uses of the term in the sense of 'unstable' are given below:

(a) *Kumārasambhava* (IV, 28) has **दयितास्वनवस्थितं नृणां न खलु प्रेम चलं सुहृज्जने**

(b) *Ibid.*, III, **प्रयोजनापेक्षितया प्रभूणां प्रायश्चलं गौरवमाश्रितेषु**

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(c) Bhartṛhari (*Vairāgyaśataka*, 128 quoted in Apte's Sanskrit-English Dictionary under the word *cala*) चला

लक्ष्मीश्चलाः प्राणाश्चलं जीवितयौवनम्

Will T render *calam* in *calaṃ prema*, *calaṃ gauravam*, and *calaṃ jīvitayauvanam*, by 'wandering (i.e. nomadic)' or by 'unstable' as suggested by me? The *Kauṭilīya* (VII, 9, p. 291) mentions side by side *dhruva* and *cala* mitras, the latter being commented on by the *Nayacandrikā* as *anitya*. Here the term has been rendered as 'mutable' by T (see transl., p. 320).

I shall now deal with the items in T's reply in the order in which they appear, pointing out in passing the various points that were touched by me in my criticism but have not been met by T.

1. *CR.*, 113f.; *IHQ.*, 390f.[1] The text in regard to which the translation of T was questioned by Mm. Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri (p. 2 of the preface to the first part of his ed. of the *Kauṭilīya*) runs thus:

मर्य्यादां स्थापयेदाचार्य्यानमात्यान् वा य एनमपायस्थानेभ्यो वारयेयुः ।

T renders it as "Those teachers and ministers who keep him from falling prey to dangers.....*shall invariably be respected*", while Mm. Ganapati Sastri gives the meaning as "(a king) *should appoint, as a barrier, either Ācāryas or ministers* who would.....check him whenever he shows inclination to stray away from the path of righteousness." The point of his objection is that the Sanskrit term *maryādā* cannot mean 'respect'. It means 'barrier'. T states now in his defence that the "passage means literally: 'The king should fix some limit or boundary of his proceedings for his teachers to interfere with and prevent him from going further. In other words, he should respect his teachers when they prevent him from his careless proceedings'." Here T accepts in fact the meaning suggested by Mm. Ganapati Sastri but has not the candour to admit that his translation is at fault and makes an attempt in the last sentence quoted above to defend his position that in Sanskrit, *maryādā* is equivalent to 'respect' which is

1 The references will be throughout this rejoinder to the April number of the *Calcutta Review*, 1932 and the seventh volume (1931) of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.

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never the case. Moreover he finishes off his reply on this point by saying,

> "The critic (referring to me) translates the passage—'The king should appoint as a barrier either Ācāryas or ministers etc.'. The critic is requested to explain what the 'appointment of a barrier' means. Appointment of a barrier is never heard of."

The criticism is by Mm. Ganapati Sastri, and therefore it is an error to refer to me as the writer of the criticism. The long-enduring habit of falling into errors is difficult to prevent in a day. Moreover, it should be pointed out to T that 'the appointment of a barrier' may not be heard of, but the 'appointment of Ācāryas or ministers as a barrier', as it were, may be quite within the range of his hearing if he listens a little cautiously.

2. *CR.*, 114; *IHQ.*, 391f. I objected to T's rendering of the passages in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* like अभ्युच्चीयमानो विगृह्णीयात् in which Kauṭilya (henceforth mentioned as K.) points out the most important conditions that should influence the decision of a sovereign in the adoption of one or more of the six courses of action. T has translated the passages in such a way as to create the impression that each condition is the only determining factor in the particular situation. The sentence quoted above has been translated as '*whoever* is superior in power *shall* wage war' (the italics are mine). The use of 'whoever' conveying with it an emphasis is unwarranted by the text, and the presence of 'shall' with 'whoever' introduces a sense of compulsion which vitiates the translation altogether. Moreover, the existence of other passages in the *Kauṭilīya* "*.....jyāyān api sandhīyeta*" (.....even a strong king should enter into a *sandhi* —*K.*, p. 269), which throw light on the texts and have been referred to already (*IHQ.*, 392), points to the correct interpretation. Unable to explain why he has introduced 'whoever' and 'shall' into his translaton, T argues,

> 'Does he expect the translator to discourse on the ethics of the action implied by the sentences translated? The translator's business is to state the meaning of the sentences.'

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But the meaning, I should add, should be such as not to conflict with passages in other portions of the work translated, and must not be vitiated by the introduction of terms in the translation not warranted by the text.

3. *CR.*, 114; *IHQ.*, 392. T's rendering of the passage *chidreṣu praharet* (*K.*, VII, 2, p. 267) as 'he may murder the enemy when opportunity affords itself' was pointed out by me as faulty on the ground that murder is not necessarily meant in all cases. प्र—हृ in प्रहरेत् means 'to strike' and the passage can well be interpreted as striking at the vulnerable points which may or may not include murder. T remarks,

> "The critic says, 'The utilization of the opportunity need not necessarily be murder.' Does it then mean beating so as not to cause death? Such a course may satisfy the moral critic but not a warrior bent on conquest. The author never meant beating here".

T may console himself with the thought that he has a special knowledge of what was at the back of the mind of the author. I would much rather follow the language of the treatise to get at the author's mind. The substance of T's remarks is that because *prahāra* may lead to murder, therefore *praharet* must be translated into 'may murder' and not 'may strike'. I want it to be noted how the same T has translated the term and its derivatives in the same chapter as also in other portions of the *Kauṭilīya*.

The passages are:

(a) *K.*, IV, 2, p. 228 (2nd ed. of the text).—शस्त्रेण प्रहृतः

'when a man *hurts* another with a weapon' (transl. p. 256).

(b) *K.*, VII, 2, 268—अन्यतरस्य व्यसने प्रहरेत

'he *may strike* the other at the latter's weak point' (transl., p. 297).

(c) *K.*, VII, 6, 280—परच्छिद्रमासाद्य प्रहरेत्

'the enemy is caught hold of at his weak point and *is struck*' (transl., p. 309).

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(d) *K.*, VII, 7, 285—मूले यात्रायां वा प्रहर्त्तुकामः

'with the intention of *striking* him in his own place or on the occasion of marching' (transl., p. 285).

(e) *K.*, VIII, 5, 337—प्रहरेद् दण्डरन्ध्रेषु शत्रूणां नित्यमुत्थितः

'should ever be ready to *strike* his enemy's army when the latter is under troubles' (transl., p. 364).

(f) *K.*, X, 5, 374—व्यूहं तु स्थापयित्वा पक्षकक्ष्योरस्यानामेकेन द्वाभ्यां वा प्रहरेत्

'having made an array, he should *strike* the enemy with one or two of the divisions on the wings, flanks, and front' (transl., p. 402).

(g) *K.*, XII, 4, 389—तेषु (छिद्रेषु) तैः सह प्रहरेयुः

'the spies should *strike* the enemy at his weak points' (transl., p. 417).

(h) *K.*, XII, 5, 393—अग्निरसशस्त्रैर्वा प्रहरेत्

'(may) *strike* them down with fire, poison, or sword' (transl., p. 421).

(i) *K.*, XIII, 3, 402—तैः सह प्रहरेयुः

'they may *strike* the enemy with the help of the army' (transl., p. 431).

(j) *K.*, XIII, 4, 404—निष्कुरादुपनिष्क्रम्य अश्वैश्च प्रहरेयुः

'horse soldiers may force their passage through the gate into the fort and may *smite the enemy*' (transl., p. 433).

The passages speak for themselves and further comments are superfluous.

4. *CR.*, 114; *IHQ.*, 392. The heading of chapter 3, bk. VII of the *Kauṭilīya* is समहीनज्यायसां गुणाभिनिवेशः rendered by T as 'the *character* of equal, inferior and superior kings'. My objection is to taking 'guṇābhiniveśa' to signify character. It means

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the adoption of the *guṇas* or the (six) 'courses of action'. That *guṇa* means in connection with the 'science of polity' a course of action or a form of policy is well-known. Monier-Williams gives the meaning thus in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (2nd ed., p. 357, col. 1): 'The six subdivisions of action for a king in foreign politics.' Apte's *Dictionary* explains the term as 'a proper course of action.' T himself has translated the words इति गुणावस्थापनम् in the first chapter of bk. VII of the *Kauṭilīya* (text, p. 263, last line; transl., p. 293) into 'such is the aspect of the six forms of policy.' But as he has committed an error, he persists in it, as done by him in so many other instances. He must translate it as 'character,' remarking,

> "The critic takes the word *guṇa* to mean courses of action. *Guṇa* never means action. It means character or nature or quality. If action were meant, 'karma' would have been the word".

I have not said that guṇa means action but it does mean 'a course of action' or 'a form of policy'.

5. *CR.*, 144f.; *IHQ.*, 392. T remarks,

> "The critic wastes his words by uselessly discoursing on *sthāna*, *āsana*, and *upekṣaṇa* without pointing out any defect in my translation".

I took pains in my criticism to explain the differences between *sthāna*, *āsana*, and *upekṣaṇa* before pointing out in the following words the defect in the translation of the first paragraph of *K.*, VII, 4, 272: "Dr. S translates the passage as 'keeping quiet, maintaining a particular kind of policy, is *sthāna*'. Here, I think, it has been contemplated by Dr. S that *guṇa* refers to a course of action other than *āsana* which is not the case". So the defect has been clearly mentioned. As it has suited T's convenience not to find out the passage, he ignores it with his characteristic remarks.

6. *CR.*, 115; *IHQ.*, 393. I pointed out the blemish in the translation of the last passage in the paragraph at p. 273, bk. VII, ch. 4 of the *Kauṭilīya* describing the circumstances in which *vigṛhyāsana* is to be resorted to. T tries in his reply to brush aside my remarks by saying

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that the translation can be made in a hundred ways. It is not so easy to wriggle out of the position to which he has committed himself by his wrong translation of the passage. I place the text, T's rendering, and the translation suggested by me side by side in order to point out clearly how the situation contemplated in the text has been utterly misunderstood by T.

K., VII, 4, p. 273 : गुणवतीमादेयां वा भूमिं सर्वसन्दोहेन वा मामनादृत्य प्रयातुकामः कथं न यायात्....

T's transl.	*Transl. suggested by me*
Since no friend would neglect the opportunity of acquiring a fertile land and a prosperous friend like myself.	How (*katham*) [an enemy] intending to march (*prayātukāmaḥ*) with all his forces (*sarvasandohena*) may not reach (*na yāyāt*) a fertile and easily acquirable region (*guṇavatīm ādeyāṃ vā bhūmiṃ*) without caring for me (*mām anādṛtya*).

The situation contemplated in the passage is as follows: When the enemy is about to march with all his forces to take away from another enemy a fertile region easily acquirable, slighting the existence of the king who is to adopt *vigṛhyāsana*, then the latter (i.e. the king slighted) should take to that course of action.

7. *CR.*, 115; *IHQ.*, 393. My objection was to the inclusion of a verse in the prose portion of the text which gave rise to a blunder in the translation. T does not at all touch this point.

It was also pointed out by me that the reading *kṛtārthā jyāyaso* (*K.*, VII, 5, p. 278) should be *kṛtārthāj jyāyaso*. T reproduces the corrected passage in his reply without admitting at all this error as pointed out by me. Moreover, the last word in the passage is *apasṛjet*, for which a better variant *apasravet* has been given by T in the foot-note. But now in his reply he substitutes *apasaret* without caring for any of the readings in the text.

Now as to the translation of the three verses including the one put by T in the prose portion of the text. The verses are

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कार्यसिद्धौ तु—

कृतार्थाज्जायसो गूढः सापदेशमपस्रवेत् ।
अशुचेः शुचिवृत्तात्तु प्रतीक्षेताविसर्जनात् ।
सत्रादपसरेद् यत्तः कलत्रमपनीय वा ।[1]

The verses contain advice meant for a king who responds to a call from another king for combination. He is asked to be careful in regard to certain matters at the time of the division of the spoils and acquisitions after a successful termination of their combined operations.

T's translation of the verses

When the desired end is achieved, the inferior king will quietly retire after the satisfaction of his superior.

* Till his discharge the good character of an ally of usually bad character should be closely scrutinized, either by suddenly coming out at a critical time from a covert position (satra) to examine his conduct, or by having his wife as a pledge for his good conduct.

(The use of the asterisk shows that the portion above it has not been taken as the translation of a verse while it is actually a verse).

Translation suggested by me

After the success of the operations, (one) should come away (apasravet) surreptitiously (gūḍhaḥ) on some pretext (sāpadeśam) from an unjust (aśucēḥ) superior (jyāyasaḥ) whose object has been achieved (kṛtārthāt); but if he be just (śucivṛttāt tu) (one) should wait (pratīkṣeta) till discharge (ā visarjanāt). Having removed (apanīya) the women (kalatram), (one) should come away (apasaret) cautiously (yattaḥ) from the residence (satrāt).

T's rendering does not yield any sense because 'the good conduct of an ally of usually bad character' cannot be 'closely scrutinized by having his wife as a pledge for his good conduct' and moreover the

1 It is curious that T in his edition of the text relegates the two correct readings for *avasare* and *'bhyattaḥ* to the foot-note and keeps the incorrect readings in the body of the text. Now he adopts the readings of the footnote.

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text does not at all support the translation. Where is, for instance, the Sanskrit text for 'a critical time'? Now as to taking 'pratīkṣeta' to be identical with 'parīkṣeta' which is mainly responsible for the meaning in the first portion of the translated passage regarding the examination of the good conduct of an ally. The equation of 'pratīkṣā' with 'parīkṣā' is absurd.

It will be clear from my translation of the passage given above that the question of 'pledging a wife' does not arise at all and therefore his objection regarding this point is baseless. *Kalatram apanīya* in the passage means 'having removed the women'. That women accompanied the king during his march to the battle-field is evidenced by the direction in the *Kauṭilīya* to the effect that the women should remain in the middle of the marching columns: *K.*, X, 2, p. 364 *madhye svāmī kalatraṃ ca*—translated by T as 'in the centre the *harem* and the master'— transl., p. 392. Cf. also the *Kāmandakīya*, XIX, 45, (p. 286)—*madhye kalatraṃ svāmī ca*, where *kalatra* has been explained by Śaṅkarārya as *antaḥpuram*.

8. *CR.*, 116; *IHQ.*, 393 f. I objected to the rendering of the term *sandhi* by 'peace' exclusively because the *Kauṭilīya* has used it in two senses in different places viz., (a) alliance which may not have any connection with war, and (b) treaty of peace putting an end to hostilities. Cf. Śaṅkarārya on the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, XIV. 2 (Trivandrum edition, p. 124)—*sandheyo dvividhaḥ abhiyoktā anabhiyoktā ca* (persons with whom *sandhis* are made are of two kinds: those who have waged war and those who have not). So the word should be rendered differently in accordance with the contexts. I pointed out some wrong interpretations made by T for ignoring the meanings mentioned above. He does not refer to those misinterpretations in his reply.

Though I have clearly stated my position yet T says,

> "If peace is not an appropriate equivalent word to the Sanskrit word 'sandhi', it is the business of the critic to suggest a suitable word. But without any such suggestion, persistence in asserting 'no, no' is no criticism."

Any one who refers to my previous criticism will find that I am being misrepresented by T.

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Regarding the meanings of some terms such as *akṛtacikīrṣā* and *kṛtaśleṣaṇa*, which have been mistranslated by T, he says,

"These words are explained in the text itself so as to give no room for misinterpretation."

Does he mean that because the words are correctly explained in the Sanskrit text, the wrong translations cannot stand in the way of understanding the right meaning? If the reader has to do the work of the translator at every step, then what purpose is served by the translation?

As pointed out already in my criticism, *akṛtacikīrṣā* cannot be translated as 'peace with no specific end' (transl., p. 309, l. 24). It should be rendered as 'desire to form (*cikīrṣā*) a new (*akṛta*) agreement.' T evades the real issue by referring to the translation of *apūrvasya sandheḥ* occurring on the same page (280) of the text (line 18) and is silent on the translation of the passage under criticism. I did not expect T to stoop to this trick for his defence. He does not say anything as to why he has introduced the words 'with no specific end' in the rendering not only in the translated passage under discussion (transl., p. 309, l. 24) but also in another on the same page (l. 34).

9. *CR.*, 116; *IHQ.*, 394. In regard to the translation of the term 'bhūmisandhi' as 'agreement of peace for the acquisition of land', I pointed out that 'agreement for the acquisition of land' would have been correct, as the words 'agreement of peace' create the impression that this sandhi is being concluded after a war; because in the *Kauṭilīya*, the term *sandhi* has two senses, viz., (a) alliance which may not have any connection with war and (b) treaty of peace after the conclusion of a war. T simply says in defence

"Does not agreement imply disagreement?" Curious reasoning!

It is absurd to think that every alliance must be preceded by a conflict.

10. *CR.* 116; *IHQ.*, 394 f. I remarked, "In the translation of *K.*, VII. 7. para 3, the passage 'when the kings of superior, equal, or inferior power make peace with the conqueror' is extremely misleading, because the use of the term 'conqueror' creates the impression in

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if the sovereign in question *has conquered a king* of superior, equal, or inferior strength, and that a treaty of peace is being concluded. As a matter of fact, only the question of alliance for strengthening the position of the king (vijigīṣu) in difficulty is being treated and therefore the uses of both the words 'conqueror' and 'peace' are inappropriate. Vijigīṣu literally means 'a sovereign bent on conquest'. But as this desire for conquest was not peculiar to any particular king, the word should be translated by some term of colourless signification. I have used the expression 'central sovereign or State' for the purpose, because we find in the *Kauṭilīya* that the sovereign with reference to whom a particular piece of advice is given, or with reference to whom a Maṇḍala (circle of States) is being taken into account in a particular context, is looked upon as the vijigīṣu (see *Inter-state Relations in Ancient India*, 1920, pp. 2, 3). That the term 'conqueror' cannot be used as the equivalent of *vijigīṣu* will also be apparent from the fact that he in particular circumstances can be reduced to a position when conquests by him are out of the question e.g., when he becomes a *yātavya* (simply weak king) [*K.*, VII, 13, p. 304, ll. 8, 9] or *abhiyukta* (attacked) [*K.*, VII, 14, p. 305, l. 8], or becomes a *daṇḍopanata* (self-submitter)—a position in which he throws himself upon the mercy of the invader [*K.*, VII, 15, p. 308. Cf. *Nayacandrikā*, p. 38].

T applies his stock principle (which he breaks at convenience e.g. in item (1) where he makes the Sanskrit term *maryādā* yield the meaning 'respect') that 'it is not proper to translate a word setting aside its literal sense', and therefore 'the words suggested (by me) have no connection with the literal sense of the word'. T is here ready to sacrifice the sense to the so-called principle which he has followed so often in its breach. One instance of such observance of the principle has been pointed out above and more have been shown in the course of this rejoinder. But I cannot refrain from adding one more example of the way in which he observes the principle. The very sentence which forms the subject-matter of this discussion is a glaring deviation from the principle enunciated above. I put side by side the text and the translation for facility of comparison.

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K., VII, 7, p. 283	*T's rendering*
तेषां ज्यायासोऽधिकेनांशेन समात् समेन हीनाद्धीनेनेति समसन्धिः	When the kings of superior, equal or inferior power make *peace* with the *conqueror* and agree to pay a greater or equal or less amount of profit in proportion to the army supplied, it is termed even peace.

The introduction of the word conqueror is not at all warranted by the text. The passage relates to a king wishing to have, for his help, army for money, or money for army from the neighbouring kings. A king asking for help from a neighbouring State for consideration cannot be called a conqueror, nor can the agreement for the purpose be called peace.

11. *CR.*, 117; *IHQ.*, 395. I objected to the translation of the words *Sandhi*, *Samasandhi*, and *Viṣamasandhi* (*K.*, VII, 7, p. 283) as 'peace', 'even peace' and 'uneven peace'. T replies:

"The words 'Śama, Sandhi, Samādhi' mean peace, calmness".

Here Sandhi signifies 'agreement' (paṇabandhaḥ sandhiḥ—*K.*, VII, 1, p. 263) and not 'peace' or 'calmness.'

In connection with this item I pointed out a blunder committed by T viz., that in the second paragraph of the translation (p. 312) of chapter 7, bk. VII, the reference to 'the enemy suing peace' is out of place and betrays a misunderstanding of the text; because in the circumstances contemplated, there is no enemy suing for peace. T's reply is silent on the point.

12. *CR.*, 117; *IHQ.*, 395. In regard to this item, my main objection was that in the third paragraph of the text (VII, 7, p. 285), two classes of kings have been contemplated, one class demanding a large consideration (bhūyo labhamāno.....bhūyo yāceta) and another class meeting the demand (bhūyo vā yācitaḥ.....bhūyo dadyāt)—(see *Nayacandrikā*, p. 7). But T in his translation interprets the whole paragraph as if it speaks of one class of kings, creating thereby a confusion. T is silent as regards this objection.

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As regards my objection to the translation of the term *'bhūyaḥ'* as 'frequently' and 'again and again', T says

"A good Sanskrit scholar can very well know whether the word *'bhūyaḥ'* here means 'again' or 'large.' "

I also repeat the remark, and add that it means 'large'. I am supported in my interpretation by the ancient commentator Mādhavayajvan, author of the *Nayacandrikā* as also by Mm. Dr. Ganapati Sastri in his *Śrīmūlāṭīkā*: *Nayacandrikā* (p.7, ll. 13, 14)— बहुतरं लभमानो...बहुतरं याचेत and *Ibid.* (p. 8, l. 4)— बहुतरमभिलाभांशं दद्यादित्यर्थः। *Śrīmūlā* (vol. II, p. 282) भूयो वा याचित इति। बहुतरं द्रव्यं याचितः etc.

13. *CR.*, 117; *IHQ.*, 395 f. I pointed out that the beginning of a paragraph in the translation (p. 314) yields no cogent meaning owing to the faultiness of the Sanskrit text which has also been settled by T. The text (VII, 7, p. 285) runs as 'jyāyāṃsaṃ vā hīnaṃ vā' which should be 'jyāyān vā hīnaṃ' as adopted in the Trivandrum edition. T replies,

"It is not the business of a translator to make such changes".

But T is also the editor of the text, and it is not an editor's business to put together incoherent words which he could have rectified in the light of the Ms. commentary *Nayacandrikā* to which he refers in the Preface (xxiii) to the second edition of the text of the *Kauṭilīya*. The *Nayacandrikā* comments as follows:

ज्यायसो हीनेन सह सन्धित्रिकं दर्शयति—ज्यायान् वा इत्यादिना।

T should have translated the corrected passage.

So it is clear how he has carried out what he says in his Preface (p. xxv) to the 2nd ed. of the translation of the *Kauṭilīya*: "All along it has been my earnest endeavour to revise my translation with the aid of two more commentaries on the work since discovered. One of them is *Nayacandrikā* by Mādhavayajvan.....".

I may mention that T has not touched my objection, made in this connection, to the reference, in para 4, p. 314 of the translation, to the sending of a 'proposal of peace to another' which is without any support from the text.

14. *CR.*, 117 f; *IHQ.*, 396. I pointed out T's error in the rendering

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of the word 'paropakāra' by 'misery' (VII, 8, p. 286). T says in his reply that

"it is śarīrabādha that has been translated by the word 'misery'. The equivalent of the word 'paropakāra', helping the enemy, has somehow or other dropped out of the translation".

This defence has perhaps its origin in the idea that omission is a lighter offence than commission, but a comparison of the text with the translation shows that 'śarīrabādha' has been rendered by 'personal troubles', leaving the term 'misery' as the equivalent of 'paropakāra'.

K., VII, 8, p. 286	*T's rendering p.* 315
(1) क्षय- (2) व्यय- ( ) प्रवास- (4) प्रत्यवाय- (5) परोपकार- (6) शरीर-वाधांश्च वर्णयेत्	He may describe to that king (1) the loss of men and (2) money, (3) hardship of sojourning abroad, (4) the commission of sinful deeds, and (5) the misery and other (6) personal troubles.

(The numerals have been used to facilitate reference.)

I also pointed out that it is not clear from the last portion of the sentence in the translation whether the disunion is between the king offering wealth and one of the allies of the invader, or, between the invader and one of his allies. The text supports the latter meaning. T is silent on this point.

15. *CR.*, 118; *IHQ.*, 396. T admits the omission of the word *sambandhāvekṣī* (*K.*, VII, 8,p. 287) in the translation to be an oversight, but evades the issue involved in my objection to the inaccurate translation in the 3rd paragraph at p. 316 (transl.) by merely remarking,

"The critic dissects the sentence in such a way that in the explanation given by him the object of the predicate becomes a condition, and a condition an object aimed at."

In the circumstances, what I said in my criticism remains unaffected.

16. *CR.*, 118; *IHQ.*, 397. T translates *śakyārambhī viṣahyam karmārabheta* (*K.*, VII. 8. p. 287) by "whoever undertakes tolerable

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work is the beginner of possible work''. The translation suggested by me was ''Śakyārambhin is one who is engaged in an operation, the completion of which is within the limits of his ability''. T's objection to my rendering is that ''there are no words 'limits, ability' in the text.'' But the root *śak* together with the suffix *yat* carries with it the sense of these words. In the dictionaries such as those of Apte, Monier-Williams, or Macdonell *Śakya* means 'capable of being done' and *viṣahya* means 'practical'. According to the *Nayacandrikā* (p. 13, l. 8) *viṣahyaṃ= śakya- nirmāṇam*, i.e., capable of being done. The root *sah* in the term *viṣahya* has evidently misled T into thinking that it means 'tolerable'. T's translation of the sentence is jargon.

17. *CR.*, 118; *IHQ.*, 397. I pointed out that T's rendering 'without losing anything in the form of favour' is not at all faithful to the text, which runs as *alpenāpyanugraheṇa kāryaṃ sādhayati*. The translation should be 'accomplishes his work even with small help'. T dismisses my correction by remarking '' 'anugraha' does not mean help but favour''. The Sanskrit sentence is simple and there is no room for ambiguity. 'Anugraha' in the passage does mean 'help'. It is interesting to note that T contradicts himself by his own translation of the words *na anugrāhyaḥ* and *anugṛhṇāti* in the next two sentences (text, p. 287) and *anugṛhītaḥ* in the next paragraph (text, p. 288) by 'should never be helped,' 'helps' (transl., p. 316), and 'helped' (transl., p. 317) respectively.

18. *CR.*, 118f; *IHQ.*, 119. My criticism was to the effect that the circumstances contemplated in the passage

तयोरेकपुरुषानुग्रहे यो मित्रं मित्रतरं वा अनुगृह्णाति सोऽतिसन्धत्ते

(*K.*, VII, 8, p. 287) have been totally misunderstood and hence the translation (p. 316) has been utterly wrong. The rendering suggested by me contains some words that were introduced to explain the circumstances contemplated in the short sentence. T evades the issue by simply remarking that these words are not in the text. My translation correctly reflects the situation contemplated in the text.

19. *CR.*, 119; *IHQ.*, 398. T has not touched three of my objections;

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(a) He is silent in regard to my criticism 'The situation next described (*K.*, VII, 8, p. 288) bearing on the assistance rendered by the *vijigīṣu* and the *ari* each to the *madhyama* king within his own *maṇḍala* has also been misunderstood, as the *same madhyama* king has been supposed to be receiving help from the *vijigīṣu* and the *ari*'.

(b) I also pointed out the absurdity of T's rendering (p. 301) of the term *āsana* by 'neutrality after proclaiming war' and subsuming a king resorting to *āsana* and a king occupying the position of *udāsīna* under the same category. T has failed to meet this criticism.

(c) My objection to the use of the word 'defeat' for *vikrama* (transl., p. 368) has not been met. The word means *prakāśayuddha*, *kūṭayuddha or tūṣṇīmyuddha* (see *K.*, VII, 6, pp. 280, 283).

Regarding the translation of the terms *madhyama* and *udāsīna* as 'mediatory' and 'neutral' T defends himself in this way:

> "These words are put here and there along with the original and sometimes without the original words for the sake of brevity, but *not as correct equivalents*".

So the renderings 'mediatory' and 'neutral' are, according to T, not wrong but merely 'not correct' equivalents. This may be a good piece of self-consoling euphemism but cannot meet a criticism based on strong grounds. Does T mean to say that the mistranslation of a Sanskrit term can be allowed if it be put along with the Sanskrit term? T argues further, stating "they (the words) are susceptible of no translation. Hence the objection is groundless". If there was difficulty in making a literal translation, he could have used the Sanskrit terms themselves all through, or even some symbols standing for those terms, instead of misleading the readers in the way he has done in his translation. A reader who does not consult the text will be puzzled to find that a 'neutral' king is coming into conflict in spite of his neutrality. The 'udāsīna' as a matter of fact is the strongest power within the maṇḍala. Similarly, the reader will be non-plussed to find that a 'mediatory' king has nothing to do with intermediation, because it is only a State of medium strength in the *Maṇḍala*. I have therefore called them 'super-state' and 'medium-state' respectively in my *Inter-state Relations in Ancient India* (1920). On account of the use of the

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misleading renderings without the original terms accompanying them, whole chapters have been turned into jigsaw puzzles for the readers to solve for their edification.

T replies to my objection to the translation of the term 'viguṇa' as 'devoid of qualities.' His translation, says he, "is correct and exact" and my translation 'unfavourable or turning false' "cannot be acceptable to Sanskritists". It will interest the readers to learn that *viguṇa* in *viguṇeṣu vikramayet* (*K.*, XI, 1, 380 and 381) has been translated by T as 'wicked person' (transl., pp. 409, 410). He has also rendered a derivative of *viguṇa*, viz., *vaiguṇya* occurring in *K.*, V, 6, p. 254, where *vaiguṇyaṃ bhajeta* has been translated as 'has turned inimical' (transl., p. 283). Another passage in *K.*, VII, 8, p. 287 runs thus: *kṛtārthaśca śatrurvaiguṇyam* etc., which T renders (transl., p. 317) as 'the enemy who *hates* the benefactor for his gratification'. Though the translation of the passage is very unsatisfactory it is clear that 'hates' corresponds to *vaiguṇyam eti* in the text. The two renderings support my contention. *Viguṇa* may be expounded either as *vigataḥ guṇaḥ asya* or as *viruddhaḥ guṇaḥ asya* (vide *Vācaspatya*, p. 4895, col. 2). The *Nayacandrikā* (p. 14, l. 8) explains the term as *viruddhaḥ* while Mm. Ganapati Sastri explains *vaiguṇyam eti* as *vikurute* (is changed or turns false). Hence, T's contention falls to the ground.

20. *CR.*, 119; *IHQ.*, 398 f. The *śloka* (*K.*, VII, 9, p. 291) enumerating the six kinds of submissive (*vaśya*) friends has been utterly misunderstood by T (see transl., p. 320).

The *śloka* runs thus:

सर्व-चित्र-महाभोगं त्रिविधं वश्यमुच्यते ।
एकतोभोग्युभयतः सर्वतोभोगि चापरम् ॥

Here the first verse mentions a set of three friends viz. *sarvabhoga*, *citrabhoga*, and *mahābhoga*, while the second another set of three, viz., *ekatobhogin*, *ubhayatobhogin*, and *sarvatobhogin*. But T translates it as follows: "That friend whose munificence is enjoyable in various ways is a submissive friend and is said to be of three forms: one who is enjoyable only by one, one who is enjoyable by two (the enemy and the conqueror), and one who is enjoyable by all is the third". My objection

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was (a) *citra* and *mahā* in the expression *sarva-citra-mahābhogam* have not been translated; (b) the whole *śloka* has been treated as referring to only three kinds of friends while it refers to six; and (c) the translation of the last three terms, viz., *ekatobhogin*, *ubhayatobhogin* and *sarvatobhogin* is wrong altogether and opposed to the meanings of the words as given in the *Kauṭilīya* itself.

A paragraph in bk. VII, ch. 17, pp. 311, 312 of the *Kauṭilīya* interprets all the six terms:

...यद्बहुश उपकरोति तत् चित्रभोगम् ;
यद्दण्डेन कोशेन वा महदुपकरोति तन्महाभोगम् ;
यद्दण्डकोशभूमीरुपकरोति तत् सर्वभोगम् ;
यदमित्रमेकतः प्रतिकरोति तदेकतोभोगि ;
यदमित्रमासारं चोपकरोति तदुभयतोभोगि ;
यदमित्रमासारप्रतिवेशाटविकान् सर्वतः प्रतिकरोति तत् सर्वतोभोगि ।

The *Nayacandrikā* (pp. 19, 20) also states very clearly that the verses under discussion refer to six kinds of friends divided into two groups—one helping the *vijigīṣu* by doing him good positively, and the other doing the same negatively by averting the evils

(उपकारो हि द्विविधः—अर्थप्राप्तिरनर्थपरिहारश्च । तत्रान्यवश्यस्यैवाद्यभेद-निमित्तान् संज्ञाभेदानाह सर्वेत्यादि ।.....द्वितीयप्रकारेणापि तस्य त्रैविध्यमाह—एकतो भोगीत्यादि ।

T replies, "This meaning (i.e. T's interpretation) is what the words here convey. The author of the *Arthaśāstra*, however, explains the word *sarvacitramahābhoga* later on in ch. 16 as a *sarvabhoga* friend, a *citrabhoga* friend and a *mahābhoga* friend. Here only three forms of these friends are explained. *Sarvabhoga* and the two other terms are technical terms and are minutely explained there by the author. Accordingly what the words literally convey here is brought out in the translation by using the phrase 'in various ways'.....As these terms are not referred to elsewhere in the text, no attempt to explain them in the author's own words is made here. This the critic calls 'gross misinterpretation'. Where is the misinterpretation? Nor is the whole expression treated

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here as referring to a single person''. None of my objections have been met by T. His reasoning reminds me of the class of arguers described as 'eel-wrigglers' by the translator of the *Dīghanikāya*. The string of pointless sentences put together as arguments in defence simply provokes a laughter.

21. *CR.*, 120; *IHQ.*, 399. The translation of the heading of chapter II, bk. VII of the *Kauṭilīya* (text, p. 295; transl., p. 324) was criticized by me as inappropriate. The Sanskrit name of the chapter is *anavasitasandhiḥ* rendered by T as 'interminable agreement'. The ground for my objection was that the very opening lines of the chapter as also its contents show that the object of the alliance was to colonize waste lands. As the heading will be in consonance with this object if its connection with the root *vas*=to dwell could be pointed out, I referred to Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 932, col. 3 in support of the derivation of *vasita* (which forms one of the components of the expression *anavasita*) in the sense of inhabited land. T says that *vasita* cannot be formed from the root *vas*=to dwell coupled with the suffix *kta*. According to him it must be *uṣita* and not *vasita*. He characterizes this attempt of mine as a 'display of stupendous ignorance of Sanskrit grammar'. The derivation of the word as given in the *Dictionary* mentioned above has been criticized by T on another ground, viz., that "the Dictionary may refer to a Vedic word, but not to a classical Sanskrit word''. Assuming that it is a Vedic word, how, with the derivation and meaning pointed out above, can it be out of place as the heading of a chapter dealing with alliances between kings for the colonization of waste lands? And how again can its use be inappropriate in a treatise in which, according to T himself, "many of the words are obsolete and a few violate the canons of Pāṇini.....These (i.e., 16 instances cited in a list) and a number of other words to be noticed in the Index are against the canons of Pāṇini, and raise the presumption that Kauṭilya was not aware of Pāṇini'' (T's *Preface*, p. XX, transl., 3rd ed.)? But if I leave aside the assumption that it is a word, the derivation of which on the line suggested by me is sanctioned only by the Vedic usage, the word can be shown to be correctly derived with the meaning mentioned above under the rules

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of classical Sanskrit. I hope T knows the rule **वचिस्वपि यजादीनां किति** (Pāṇini, VI, 15) which enjoins that "the semi-vowels of the roots *vac*, *svap* and *yajādi* verbs are *vocalized* when followed by the affix having an indicatory *k*". The root *vas* (*bhvādi*) being included among the *yajādi* roots (*Dhātupāṭha*, I, 1054 *vas nivāse*), the *v* of this *vas* becomes *u* when *kta* is added to it. That this *vas* (*bhvādi*) belongs to the *yajādi* class is clearly pointed out both in the *Dhātupāṭha* (I, 1051-1057) and in the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini, VI, 15

(यज् देवपूजा-सङ्गतिकरण-दानेष्वित्यतः प्रभृति आगणान्तात्) ;

but there is another root *vasa* with the same meaning (*vasa nivāse*) mentioned in the *Dhātupāṭha* under X, 392 and in the *Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti*, *curādi*, 389 (Mysore ed., vol. II, pt. 2, p. 225).

Thus the form *vasita* is quite in order under the rules of grammar for classical Sanskrit. It is also found in use in the classical Sanskrit literature from the root *vasa* with the addition of the suffix *kta* either in the *bhāvavācya* or in the *kartṛvācya*. The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, 1, 6, 2 has *bhikṣubhirvipravasite*. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 54, 124 reads *tasyāmāvasite sārthe rātrau tasyāñca jāgrati*.

That the form *vasita* has nothing irregular about it is further seen from the comments on the expression *nadīṃ upavasitā* occurring in the *Aśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra*, 1, 14, 7, and *nadīṃ upāvasitā* in the *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* (Gujarati Printing Press ed.) 1, 15, 9. The *vṛtti* of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa on the former interprets *nadīmupavasitā bhavanti* as *nadyāḥ samīpe vasanti*. The commentators of the *Pāraskara Gṛ. S.*,—Harihara, Gadādhara, and Viśvanātha—all explain *upāvasitā* as *upa samīpe āvasitā sthitā*.

The arguments that T puts forward for showing that the suggested derivation of the expression *anavasitasandhiḥ* is faulty are, "The vigrahavākya may be as 'anavasitaś cāsau sandhiś ca' or 'anavasitasya sandhiḥ'. In the former case it means an inhabited agreement, which is absurd. In the second case, the first word is an adjective and cannot be compounded with a noun in Ṣaṣṭhītatpuruṣa". The word *vasita* however in the expression is a noun and not an adjective as T supposes wrongly. Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 932, col. 3 also takes it as a noun meaning 'abode, residence'. *A-vasita* (with *bhāve kta*) means not-abode, i.e., uninhabited land and *an-a-vasita*

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means not-abode turned into an abode, i.e., a waste land converted into a colony.

I would mention here that even if the word *vasita* had been an adjective, there would have been no bar to its being compounded with a noun in *Ṣaṣṭhītatpuruṣa*. The grammarians themselves have given instances of such compounds in connection with Pāṇini's rule VI, 3, 46:

(a) काशिकावृत्तिः—महतः पुत्रः = महत्पुत्रः

(b) सिद्धान्तकोमुदी—महतः सेवा = महत्सेवा

Vāmana's dictum (*Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra*, 5.1.10)

विशेषणमात्रप्रयोगो विशेष्यप्रतिपत्तौ

is a universally accepted rule in Sanskrit literature. I would also refer T to some of the chapter-headings in the *Kauṭilīya* itself where the first words are adjectives, but yet they have been compounded with nouns in *Ṣaṣṭhītatpuruṣa*. The chapter-headings are:

I, 18 *avaruddhavṛttam*
VII, 6 *saṃhitaprayāṇikam*
VII, 15 *daṇḍopanatavṛttam*
VII, 16 *daṇḍopanāyivṛttam*

Hence, the derivation of *anavasitasandhiḥ* as given by me is quite grammatical and its meaning as suggested by me is perfectly in consonance with the contents of the chapter in spite of what T has said to the contrary under an exaggerated impression of his own knowledge.

22. *CR.*, 121; *IHQ.*, 399. I pointed out the inaccuracies in T's rendering of the words *pratyupasthitārtha* and *yathoktaguṇā* (*K.*, VII, 11, second sentence) as 'reaping the harvest earlier' and 'fertile land' respectively. They should be translated as 'having the requisites ready at hand' and 'having the qualities as already stated'. T indirectly admits that the expressions have not been translated literally. He says,

> "Here the first word is a part-quotation; the whole word is *pratyupasthitārthasampannam* rich or fertile land with standing crops. Also it is here used as an adjective to the subject (king). Accordingly it means the king who has taken possession of the ready crops, that is 'has harvested earlier' ".

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I do not understand why T here bids farewell to his much-vaunted principle of making the translation literal. The absurdity of T's explanation is obvious. The term is explained in the *Nayacandrikā* (p. 31) as follows:—*pratyupasthitārtha iti pratyagrasannihitatatsāmagrīkaḥ* which supports my rendering.

In regard to the second expression *Yathoktaguṇā* T now changes his position and says that

'it means the land of described quality, i.e., a fertile land, because a fertile tract is mentioned in the previous chapter'.

The question was about the literalness as well as the accuracy of the translation. Where is now his principle about the literalness of the translation, which he lays down thus, in connection with item (26) *CR.*, p. 122, "The translator's business is to render the words as literally as possible and leave the reader to understand the secondary meaning from the context". The rendering suggested by me is literal and conveys the meaning correctly.

23. *CR.*, 121; *IHQ.*, 399. My criticism was directed against the omission of the English equivalent of *vāpa* in the translation of the expression *prabhūtavāpasthāna* as 'extensive area'. (*K.*, VII, transl., p. 327; text, p. 299, l. 3). As the various kinds of irrigation works are being compared in the passage and the cultivable nature of the land served by these works of irrigation forms the criterion for judging their superiority, it is essential that the equivalent of *vāpa* should not be omitted. The rendering would be 'extensive area *under cultivation*'. Here T finds fault with my statement by pointing out that my reference to VII, 12, transl., 327 is wrong. It ought to be, he says,

"11, transl., 324. It is not known where the critic has got the word 'prabhūtavāpasthāna from. The manuscripts collated by me give the reading 'prabhūtapūrvāparasasyam' but not 'prabhūtavāpasthāna'. It is rather surprising that the critic is very careless in his references and citations."

The course adopted here by T does not befit any one who has the least pretence to scholarship. My reference to the translation is exact. It is now too late to say that the word does not appear in the printed

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text. It does in line 3 of p. 299 of the text (revised ed., Mysore, 1919) as stated by me and any one can verify it.

24. *CR.*, 121; *IHQ.*, 399. I pointed out that T's rendering of the fifth paragraph of the text, p. 299, lines 9-11 is wrong because the paragraph has been taken in the translation to refer to men instead of to elephants which constitute the subject-matter of discussion in the previous paragraph. The connection between the two paragraphs has been maintained by the use of the expression *tatrāpi* at the beginning of the latter. Here, while comparing the game forests containing a larger number of shy (*kuṇṭha*) and a lesser number of bold (*śūra*) elephants, a further distinction is drawn between them by a reference to the divergent opinions of the Ācāryas and Kauṭilya.

K., VII, 12, p. 299, ll. 9-11	*T's rendering*
तत्रापि बहुकुण्ठाल्पशूरयोरल्पशूरं श्रेयः। शूरेषु हि युद्धम्। अल्पाः शूरा बहून्-शूरान् भञ्जन्ति, ते भग्नाः स्वसैन्यावघातिनो भवन्ति इत्याचार्याः।	My teacher says that *of the two countries*, one with a large number of effete *persons*, and another with a small number of brave *persons*, the latter is better, inasmuch as a few brave persons can destroy a large mass of effete persons, whose slaughter brings about the destruction of the entire army of their master.

Here *tatrāpi* has evidently been translated by the words 'of the two countries'; *tatrāpi* however implies here game forests by reason of the connection of the passage with the one immediately preceding. T replies, 'The word 'tatrāpi' may mean 'in this connection'. The whole paragraph may be taken to apply to elephants or persons or both''.

If *tatrāpi*, on T's present admission, signifies 'in this connection' and not 'of the two countries' as written above in T's rendering, then it cannot but refer to the game forests,—the topic of discussion in the preceding passage. The 'two countries' and the 'effete persons' in T's rendering have therefore their existence only in T's imagination. The expression *tatrāpi* occurs five times in the chapter (*K.*, VII, 12). Four

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of them have been interpreted by T as referring to the subject-matter of the preceding paragraphs, while in the present instance, he takes it to refer to something not dealt with in the chapter at all.

25. *CR.*, 121f.; *IHQ.*, 400. In connection with this item, my objections were four viz:

(a) The term *saṃhatya* has been rendered by the word 'simultaneously' in the first paragraph of the translation (p. 329). The *vijigīṣu* and the *ari* are in alliance and hence the word *saṃhatya* has been used in the text. Hence the use of the term 'simultaneously' is wrong.

(b) In the latter portion of the first paragraph in the translation (p. 329), the passage "*has to put down* the rear *only* after doing away with one's frontal enemy already attacked" misinterprets the situation. The *vidhiliṅ* form *ucchindyāt* in the text here as well as in the next paragraph has been taken by T to convey the sense of *vidhi* (for which 'has to put down' has been used), while it should be taken in the sense of *sambhāvanā*.

(c) The use of 'only' in the portion of the translation quoted above is out of place.

(d) As a variant reading to *labdhalābha* in the body of the text, *alabdhalābha* has been put in the foot-note, though the latter is the correct reading and ought to have been used in the body of the text. Moreover the translation does not follow the reading of the text but that of the foot-note.

The objections (a), (c) and (d) have not been touched by T.

Regarding (b), he says,

> "My object in using 'has to' is to show that the enemy attacking his enemy, i.e., the conqueror's friend, will be obliged to return to attack the *vijigīṣu* after finishing work with his frontal enemy".

I have already explained the situation in my original criticism and briefly in connection with (b) above to point out that the translation is wrong.

26. *CR.*, 122; *IHQ.*, 401. (a) T's reply in connection with this item (re. *cakra* meaning 'army') has been dealt with in the first portion of this rejoinder (p. 167).

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(b) My remarks regarding T's rendering of *sthitāmitra* and *calāmitra* (transl., p. 330; text, p. 302) were that "they are rather unhappy. They have been translated as 'entrenched enemy' and 'wandering enemy'. Enemies with or without forts are meant". T replies,

> "*Calāmitra* and *sthitāmitra* may mean in his dictionary enemies with or without forts. Such meaning may be secondary, implied from the context".

Am I to infer then that a translator is privileged to render a word by an equivalent that may not at all be suitable to the context. Moreover, is the term 'entrenched', for instance, a literal translation of *sthita*? In fact, T does not care either for the literal rendering or for the elicitation of the correct sense of the terms. The terms could at least have been translated as 'stable' and 'unstable' enemies. After all, it will be interesting to note that T himself renders the expression *sthitaśatru* elsewhere (*K.*, VII, 10, p. 293; transl., p. 322, l. 8) as 'fortified enemy', and yet he finds fault with the rendering of *sthitāmitra* by 'an enemy with a fort' as suggested by me. I may refer T to the *Nayacandrikā* (p.25) where *sthita* and *cala* have been explained as 'with fort' and 'without fort':

p. 25, l. 8—*durgādimattayā sthiram avicālyaṃ śatrum*
,, l. 13—*durgādirahitād bhūmilābhe'py asandhānam āha—tulye calāmitrād iti.*

27. *CR.*, 122; *IHQ.*, 401. As the terms (a) *mūlahara*, (b) *tādātvika*, and (c) *kadarya* have been explained in the *Kauṭilīya* (II, 9, p. 69) as (a) spendthrift in regard to patrimony, (b) squandering wealth soon after acquisition, and (c) accumulating wealth by oppressing the officials and relations, I criticised T for not taking note of these explanations. He has translated the three terms in their order as 'extravagant', 'living from hand to mouth' and 'niggardly'. T gives his usual reply regarding the literalness of his translation, a rule which he follows and transgresses at will. He adds that "there is no special technical meaning assigned to these words". These are, in fact, technical terms which, T with all his attempts, cannot prove as bearing only ordinary significations. The passage in the *Kauṭilīya* (p. 69) runs thus:

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यः पितृपैतामहमर्थमन्यायेन भक्षयति स मूलहरः ।
यो यद् यदुत्पद्यते तत्तद्भक्षयति स तादात्विकः ।
यो भृत्यात्मपीड़ाभ्यामुपचिनोत्यर्थं स कदर्यः ।

Bhaṭṭasvāmin comments on the passages as *tāṃś ca mūlaharādīn svayam eva vyācaṣṭe* i.e., Kauṭilya himself explains the terms.

In later literature, these three terms are assigned the same technical meanings e.g., the *Yuktikalpataru* (nītiyukti, verses 35-37):

उत्पन्नार्थव्ययकरो यो भविष्यद्धनाशया ।
स तादात्विक आख्यातः.....॥
यः पित्राद्यर्जितं वित्तमन्यायेन तु भक्षयेत् ।
स मूलहर आख्यातः.....॥
स कदर्यस्तु भृत्यात्मपीड़नैरर्थसञ्चयी ।

Devala quoted in the *Vīramitrodayaṭīkā* on *Yājñavalkya*, 1, 161:

आत्मानं धर्मकृत्यञ्च पुत्रदारांश्च पीड़यन् ।
लोभाद् यः प्रचिनोत्यर्थान् स कदर्य इति स्मृतः ॥

The *Mitākṣarā* on the verse quotes the same definition with a slightly different reading:

आत्मानं धर्मकृत्यं च पुत्रदारांश्च पीड़येत् ।
लोभाद् यः पितरौ भृत्यान् स कदर्य इति स्मृतः ॥

Govindarāja's commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 6. 8 (Kumbhakonam Edition) quotes the same definition substituting *bhrātṛn* for *bhṛtyān*.

28. *CR.*, 122; *IHQ.*, 401. I criticized T's translation 'those who have marched against their own friends' (*K.*, VII, 13, p. 302; transl., pp. 330,331) on the ground that it creates the impression that a king used to attack his friends' territory in spite of the continuance of the friendship. The first of the two paragraphs to which I take objection may be put here to make my position clear:

"The same reasons hold good in the case of those who have marched against their *own* friends. When there are two enemies, *one engaged in attacking a friend* and another an enemy, he who attacks the rear of the latter gains more advantages: for one who has attacked a friend will, after easily *making peace with the friend*, proceed against the rear-enemy; for it is easier to make peace with a friend than with an

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enemy". Here the absurdity appears on the face of the translation, because a king cannot *attack a friend* as such because there is no ill-feeling towards him; nor need he *make peace with a friend* because there is no quarrel with him to settle. The use of these mutually contradictory words stands on a par with the instances that have already been shown to have emanated from T's pen viz., a *neutral king who fights, and a mediatory king who has nothing to do with mediation* (see item 19). To avoid these contradictions in the paragraph quoted above, it is necessary to introduce some qualifying phrases such as 'false', 'nominal' etc. before the word 'friend'. Kauṭilya makes an elaborate classification of kings who are immediate neighbours of the *vijigīṣu*, and also of those whose territories are separated by a zone, according to the measure of friendship or enmity towards him. He classifies the former (or natural enemies) as well as the latter (or natural friends) into *aribhāvins*, *mitrabhāvins*, and *bhṛtyabhāvins* and lays down various sub-classes. On account of the existence of kings who are nominally friends but are really inimical (e.g., the *aribhāvi-mitras* constituting the first sub-division of the second category) such appellations as *karśanīya mitra*—(lit. a friend who should be rendered lean) and *ucchedanīya mitra* (lit. a friend who should be ruined with his territory) have been mentioned in the *Kauṭilīya* with details of the treatment that should be meted out to them in particular circumstances.

T however would not listen to any reasonable advice. Says he,

> "How can it be avoided when the word *mitrābhiyoginoḥ*, those two kings who attack their own friends, gives that meaning? Besides such practices were not uncommon in ancient India..... If this revolts against the high moral sense of the critic, he may turn away his eyes from such books".

No doubt, my persual of his book has been very uncomfortable to him. However, I have shown the contradictions involved in the translation. The *Kauṭilīya* itself does not obliterate the difference between friendly and inimical kings. Moreover, when the gain of strength is the object, and advice is being given by Kauṭilya to win over even an enemy, the suicidal course of attacking a friendly king as such can appeal only to T's imagination. An unjust attack upon a righteous or

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a friendly king has been pointed out in the *Kauṭilīya* as the cause of displeasure of the kings in the *Maṇḍala* (*K.*, VII, 13, p. 302; VII, 17, p. 313). This indicates what was looked upon as the generally approved practice. I would like here to remind T regarding what he has written in his translation at p. 71 (II, 10) "Writs are of great importance to kings inasmuch as treaties and *ultimata leading to war depend upon writs*." If the sending of an ultimatum was the usual practice before declaring a war, it shows that there had to be a dispute for some cause or other and all the steps for an amicable settlement by negotiation had to be taken before a war was declared. Moreover, it is pointed out in a passage in the same chapter (II, 10, text, p. 75) that this was the usual practice, and not the one mentioned by T in his reply. If there were exceptions, they only prove the rule. The gist of the verses is as follows:—"Having followed all the *śāstras* and having ascertained the practices (prayoga) these rules regarding writs have been laid down by Kauṭilya".

29. *CR.*, 122; *IHQ.*, 401. At *p.* 302 of the text, *mitra* has been put instead of *amitra* in चोद्धरतोर्यो मित्रोद्धारिणः in the last paragraph. In the 1st ed. of the *Kauṭilīya*, the same mistake found a place in the body of the text, while the right reading *amitra* in चोद्धरतो योऽमित्रोद्धारिणः was put in the list of corrections. In the 2nd ed. of text, however, the incorrect reading has been given a place in the text as before, and translated in all the three editions of the translation (see transl., 3rd ed., p. 331, l. 2). The translation of the passage has been grossly erroneous, because it has assumed this shape viz., "he who attacks the rear of the former (referring to the friend=mitra) gains more advantages", which is just the reverse of what is meant. T replies that he has adopted the reading *amitroddhāriṇaḥ* in his 2nd ed. of the text but "the *akāra* sign ऽ has been omitted in the printed text." This is not the case. Had the error been thought so trivial it would not have been given a place in the list of corrections in the 1st ed. of the text. The same unscholarly trick that he has played in connection with the items 8 and 23 is being repeated here. T asserts that his translation contains the words

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'the latter' which stand for the right term *amitra*, while as a matter of fact in the translation the words that appear are 'the former' which refer to *mitra* resulting in the error pointed out by me. To conceal his error effectively, he backs up the statement by his characteristic remarks,

"The critic is so blinded with prejudice as not to see this and imagines wrong things where there are only right things".

His own text and translation give the lie direct to his statement and hence further comments are unnecessary.

30. *CR.*, 123; *IHQ.*, 401 f. I characterized as wide of the mark T's translation of *alabdhalābhāvagamane* (transl., 2nd para., p. 331; text, p. 302) as "to enforce the payment of what is not due to them". The rendering suggested by me was "in the case of returning unsuccessful". T challenges me to show which of the three words *alabdha*, *lābha*, and *avagamane* signifies the idea of returning, and which of them the idea of unsuccessful. I would point out for his information that *alabdhalābha* signifies the idea of 'unsuccessful' (in which no *lābha* is *labdha*), and *avagamana* 'returning'. I may mention that T himself has elsewhere translated *avagamana* (*K.*, XII, 2, p. 384) as "to migrate" (transl., p. 414). Now I challenge T to show how the three words *alabdha*, *lābha*, and *avagamana* mean "to enforce the payment of what is not due to them" and which of them means "to enforce".

31. *CR.*, 123; *IHQ.*, 402. It was pointed out that the sentence in the text (p. 303) *yasya vā yātavyaḥ śatror vigrahāpakārasamarthaḥ syāt* is connected with the previous one, because this sentence describes a situation alternative to that described in the preceding one. The sentence has nothing to do with the succeeding one to which it has been tagged. The resulting meaning as understood by T and reflected in his translation is very much confused.

Though I stated clearly that *vā* in the passage points to a situation alternative to the preceding one, yet T says

"the alternative implied by *vā* cannot refer to *mūlābādhaka*, for that comes later in the paragraph".

I never said in my criticism that *vā* refers to *mūlābādhaka*. T

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merely raises an imaginary opposition only to have the opportunity of fighting it with a show of triumph which he cannot have otherwise. But in regard to the real opposition his arguments are as ineffective as ever. Again he says,

"If there are no two sentences signifying two kinds of circumstances what is the use of *vā* after *sthāyi*?"

Certainly there are two kinds of circumstances signified by the existence of (i) *sthitaśatru* and (ii) *pārśvasthāyin*, but not by *yasya vā* and *yo vā* as T supposes.

The next point of my criticism was: "In the succeeding *śloka* (p. 303), *sāmantāt* should be *sāmantāḥ*, a variant which has been relegated by T to the foot-note. This word has been left untranslated". The *śloka* should stand as

पार्ष्णिग्राह्यस्त्रयो ज्ञेयाः शत्रोश्चेष्टानिरोधकाः।
सामन्ताः पृष्ठतोवर्गः प्रतिवेशौ च पार्श्वयोः॥

Again, believing that no one will verify his statement T claims that "sāmanta has been translated as an assailant king", but I do not find the words 'assailant king' in the translation of the verse which has been indicated by an asterisk. It will be recalled that in three previous instances (items 8, 23, and 29) we have found that what he claims in the reply cannot be substantiated by a reference to his translation.

Further, to defend the wrong reading, T explains now in his reply that *sāmantāt pṛṣṭhataḥ* means 'behind the assailant king'. In that case *sāmanta* the king immediately in the rear, who is the *pārṣṇigrāha* proper, is excluded from among the three kinds of pārṣṇigrāhas. In spite of this absurdity, T must stick to his erroneous opinion.

In this connection, I made remarks to the effect that though the text mentions three classes of pārṣṇigrāhas, viz., *sāmanta*, *pṛṣṭhatovarga*, and *prativeśa*, T has tried to make up the three classes by the second and the third, taking the word *prativeśau* to comprise two classes, one being on each side of the king attacked, though as a matter of fact the two prativeśas constitute only one class. T says in his reply,

"There are three rear-enemies clearly stated here in the text: pārṣṇigrāhās trayo jñeyāḥ, one behind the sāmanta and two on

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the two sides of the sāmanta. In the face of such verbal citation of the author, the critic blindly says that they constitute only one class."

T tries to create the wrong impression that I have taken *pārṣṇi-grāhās trayaḥ* to form one class. As a matter of fact, however, I have spoken of three classes of *pārṣṇigrāhas*, viz., *sāmanta*, *pṛṣṭhatovarga*, and *prativeśa* (the two prativeśas indicated by the word *prativeśau* constituting only one class).

32. *CR.*, 124; *IHQ.*, 402. I have dealt with T's misleading translation of the term *udāsīna* and his reply in connection with item 19.

33. *CR.*, 124; *IHQ.*, 402 f. T translates

पार्ष्णिग्राहाभियानयोस्तु मन्त्रयुद्धादभ्युच्चयः (text, p. 303)

as "of attacks from the rear and front, that which affords opportunities of carrying on a treacherous fight (mantrayuddha) is preferable" (transl., p. 331). The translation suggested by me is "But in rear as well as frontal attack, *mantrayuddha* (fight through diplomatic designs and secret means) brings about increase in strength".

In his reply T does not defend his original translation nor does he refer to the rendering suggested by me, but puts forward a new interpretation which is worse than the previous. T's new rendering is: "Excellnce of (any one of) the two is on account of the facility it gives for *mantrayuddha*." Here *pārṣṇigrāhābhiyānayos tu* has been translated by the words "of (any one of) the two." The words may be rendered as "of *pārṣṇigrāha* and *abhiyāna*" but they cannot be taken to refer to any of the two in the alternative. Moreover there is nothing special in either the rear attack or the frontal one that can give facility for *mantrayuddha*.

I pointed out that in the text edited by T (p. 303), the two sentences

"व्यायामयुद्धे हि क्षयव्ययाभ्यामुभयोरवृद्धिः।
जित्वाऽपि हि क्षीणदण्डकोशः पराजितो भवति" इत्याचार्याः।

have been put within inverted commas as the opinion of the *Ācāryas*. The opinion should however also include the immediately preceding sentence, the translation of which is under criticism. This sentence runs thus;

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पार्ष्णिग्रहणाभियानयोस्तु मन्त्रयुद्धादभ्युच्चयः ।

This sentence in the text and its rendering in the translation have not been taken by T as the opinion of the Ācāryas; but it cannot but be taken as such because, it makes a statement, in support of which the two sentences quoted above put forward the reasons viz., (a) an open war (*vyāyāma-yuddha*) causes harm to both the belligerents on account of the loss of men and money involved, (b) in spite of the victory, the victor becomes really a loser because of the loss of men and money.

It is for these reasons that the Ācāryas are in favour of *mantra-yuddha* i.e., fight through diplomatic designs and secret means as against open war (*vyāyāma-yuddha*).

How T excludes the main statement *pārṣṇigrāhābhiyānayos tu mantrayuddhād abhyuccayaḥ* from the opinion of the Ācāryas will be found from this quotation:

"Of attacks from rear and front that which affords opportunities of carrying on a treacherous fight (*mantrayuddha*) is preferable.

My teacher says that in an open war both sides suffer by sustaining heavy loss of men and money; and that even the king who wins a victory will appear as defeated in consequence of the loss of men and money" (transl., pp. 331 f.).

In support of the exclusion of the first sentence in the above quotation from the opinion of the Ācāryas, T in his reply says that

> there is "a strong reason for not taking it as part of the teacher's opinion.....The teacher was against open war. But Kauṭilya was for it. Then where is the reason for taking the previous sentence about the excellence of rear and frontal attacks as forming part of the teacher's opinion when it is not refuted?"

This argument shows that T has not understood the meaning of the sentence. It does not speak of the 'excellence of the rear and frontal attacks' at all. On the contrary, it shows the advantage of avoiding an open attack by *mantrayuddha* (i.e., fight through diplomatic designs and secret means) and therefore should form part of the Ācāryas' opinion.

The argument betrays the failure of T to make out the difference between *mantrayuddha* and *vyāyāmayuddha*. The two terms have been

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used one after another to distinguish their meanings in the very passage under discussion, but T obliterates the difference between them and looks upon both as falling within Kauṭilya's recommendation.

It will be interesting to know how differently the term *mantra-yuddha* has been translated by T in various places in the *Kauṭilīya*. In the passage quoted above and at p. 371 (transl.) it has been rendered as 'treacherous fight' but elsewhere (text, pp. 5, 382 and 386; transl., pp. 4, 411 and 415) as 'battle of intrigue'. It is curious that the same expression 'treacherous fight' has been used by T also as an equivalent of *kūṭayuddha* (text, pp. 4, 280, 283, 367, 369, 382; transl., pp. 4, 309, 311, 395, 397, 412). The *mantrayuddha* and *kūṭayuddha* are in fact different from each other, as will be apparent from their mention in the same sentence of the *Kauṭilīya* (text, p. 382) *mantrayuddhena kūṭayuddhena vā prativyūheta* where T distinguishes the two in the translation as 'battle of intrigue' and 'treacherous fight' (transl., p. 411). These contradictions show that T does not know his own mind in regard to this point.

34. *CR.*, 124; *IHQ.*, 403. The text (*K.*, VII, 13, p. 304) under discussion runs thus:

तुल्ये क्षयव्यये यः पुरस्तात् दूष्यबलं घातयित्वा निःशल्यः पश्चात् वश्यबलो युध्येत सोऽतिसन्धत्ते ।

T translates it as "Loss of men and money being equal, he who entirely destroys first his frontal enemy and next attacks his rear enemy gains more advantages".

The points against which my criticisms were directed are: (a) The terms *dūṣyabala* and *vaśyabala* meaning the 'recalcitrant' and 'submissive' portions of the army have been wrongly translated as 'frontal enemy' and 'rear enemy'; and (b) the term *niḥśalya* has not been translated at all.

T replies that

> the "sentences are susceptible of two interpretations both being syntactically and grammatically right. The words *purastāt* and *paścāt* are used in the text in the sense of 'front' and 'rear' (see p. 260 of the text). Accordingly *purastāt dūṣyabalaṃ hatvā* is interpreted by me as 'having destroyed the frontal enemy'."

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The terms *purastāt* and *paścāt* in the sentence mean 'first' and 'next' as in fact T himself has done in the rendering of the passage. But now to defend his erroneous renderings of *dūṣyabala* and *vaśya-bala* as 'frontal enemy' and 'rear enemy,' he makes the assertion that the words 'frontal' and 'rear' are the equivalents of *purastāt* and *paścāt*. Then *dūṣyabala* and *vaśyabala* would signify simply an enemy, which they cannot. The meanings in fact are *dūṣya*=recalcitrant, *vaśya*=submissive, and *bala*=army.

As to T's assertion that his translation of the Sanskrit sentence quoted at the outset is "syntactically and grammatically right", I should point out that it is not so. The term *vaśyabala*, which in the first case-ending refers to *yaḥ*, the nominative of the sentence, has been interpreted by T as an object of *yudhyeta*.

Regarding the omission of the equivalent of the term *niḥśalya* in the translation, T is silent.

My interpretation has been criticized by T on the ground that it cannot be the policy of a king to engage in fight the recalcitrant portion of his army first, and after its destruction, utilize the submissive portion of his army in the fight. He remarks, "Are we to suppose then that wars were a means of getting rid of treacherous persons in the army?" My answer is in the affirmative. For Kauṭilya's advice as to the parallel course of engaging in fight the services of an undesirable portion of the army when the risk is very great, I may refer T to the *Kauṭilīya*, IX, 2, p. 344, where the proper occasions for utilizing the different classes of troops have been discussed. By such a line of action, the king can achieve his object even in defeat (*śva-varāhayoḥ kalahe caṇḍālasyeva anyatarasiddhiḥ—K.*, IX, 2, p. 344, l. 1; *bilvaṃ bilvena hanyatāṃ*—p. 344, l. 7). The *Kāmandakīya* (XIX, 60, p. 290) also advises, in a passage bearing on the same point, a king to engage the *dūṣyabala* first:

प्रथमं योधयित्वा तु दूष्यामित्रात्वीवलैः ।

35. *CR.*, 125, 126; *IHQ.*, 403, 404. I criticized T's utterly erroneous translation of the following *śloka* (*K.*, VII, 13, p. 304):

पार्ष्णिग्राहोऽभियोक्ता वा यातव्यो वा यदा भवेत् ।
विजिगीषुस्तदा तत्र नैत्रमेतत् समाचरेत् ॥

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The translation runs thus: "When an enemy in the rear and in the front, and an assailable enemy to be marched against happen together, then the conqueror should adopt the following policy."

Here, there is no question of 'happening together' nor are there in the Sanskrit text any words corresponding to the same. The rendering should be as follows:—When the *vijigīṣu* happens to be (*bhavet*) in the position of either the rear-invader (*pārṣṇigrāha*), or the invader (*abhiyoktṛ*), or the king invaded (*yātavya*), he should thus conduct the operations (*naitram etat samācaret*,—T reads *netram* for *naitram*).

T in his reply gives a list of the names of ten States in a maṇḍala calling the list a 'diagram', and leaves the readers to understand his interpretation with the aid of the so-called diagram. It does not however help them at all in connection with the elucidation of the meaning of this *śloka*.

Without explaining his own position, T objects to my rendering in the following words:

"If the word *vijigīṣu* is taken as the subject of *bhavet*, there is no second word, *vijigīṣu* or 'he' in the verse to be taken as the subject of the verb *samācaret*. Accordingly, he cannot take that word as the subject of *bhavet*. Hence the translation falls to the ground. My construction is the only reasonable and correct construction of the sentence."

I give below the prose order of the *śloka* to remove the chances of misunderstanding:

यदा विजिगीषुः पार्ष्णिग्राहः अभियोक्ता वा यातव्यः वा भवेत तदा (सः) एतत् नैत्रं समाचरेत् ।

Here *saḥ* has been supplied as the meaning demands it, and there is nothing uncommon about this supply of *saḥ*.

For facility of reference and making my point clear, I quote here the next five *ślokas* (text, p. 304).

(a) पार्ष्णिग्राहो भवेन्नेता शत्रोर्मित्राभियोगिनः ।
विग्राह्य पूर्वमाक्रन्दं पार्ष्णिग्राहाभिसारिणा ॥

(b) आक्रन्देनाभियुञ्जानः पार्ष्णिग्राहं निवारयेत् ।
तथाक्रन्दाभिसारेण पार्ष्णिग्राहाभिसारिणम् ॥

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(c) अरिमित्रेण मित्रं च पुरस्तादवघट्टयेत् ।
मित्रमित्रमरेश्चापि मित्रमित्रेण वारयेत् ॥

(d) मित्रेण ग्राहयेत् पार्ष्णिमभियुक्तोऽभियोगिनः ।
मित्रमित्रेण चाक्रन्दं पार्ष्णिग्राहान्निवारयेत् ॥

(e) एवं मण्डलमात्मार्थं विजिगीषुर्निवेशयेत् ।
पृष्ठतश्च पुरस्ताच्च मित्रप्रकृतिसम्पदा ॥

The four *ślokas* (a) to (d) present details about the 'conduct of operations' (*naitra*) mentioned in the passage. The first verse in *śloka* (a) contains advice for the *vijigīṣu*, when he happens to be in the position of a *pārṣṇigrāha*:

"The *Netṛ* (the conductor of operations, referring to the *vijigīṣu* in the context) should attack the rear of the enemy who invades the friend (of the *vijigīṣu*)."

T in his translation of this verse misses the point and renders it as "the rear enemy would usually lead the conqueror's frontal enemy to attack the conqueror's friend." T has tried to explain by a reference to his so-called diagram how a *rear-enemy can usually lead the conqueror's enemy to attack the conqueror's friend* but has failed to do so. There is no reason why the rear enemy of the *vijigīṣu* would *usually lead the vijigīṣu's enemy*. This is not supported by what is meant in the text.

The two *ślokas* (b) and (c) quoted above speak of the steps to be taken by the *vijigīṣu* when he is in the position of the invader (*abhiyuñjānaḥ*). But T would not take this into account. He objects to my interpretation on the ground that the term *pārṣṇigrāhaḥ* in *śloka* (a), and *pārṣṇigrāham* in *śloka* (b) refer to two different persons if my interpretation be correct. This objection is baseless, because the term in *śloka* (a) refers to the *vijigīṣu* where he has to carry on operations in the position of a *pārṣṇigrāha*, while the second term in *śloka* (b) is the *pārṣṇigrāha* of the invaded *vijigīṣu* and therefore they are different persons. As I have already pointed out, the *ślokas* (a) to (d) deal with three situations. In the first, the *vijigīṣu* is in the position of a *pārṣṇigrāha*; in the second the *vijigīṣu* is in the position of an invader (*abhiyoktṛ*); and in the third, the *vijigīṣu* is in the position of an invaded king

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(*abhiyukta*). Kauṭilya gives in the four *ślokas* advice to the *vijigīṣu* as to what he should do in the three situations just mentioned.

T *evades the next three points* touched by me in my criticism by simply remarking

"It is unnecessary now to point out other absurdities committed by the prejudiced critic."

So the force of my statements regarding the three points remains unabated.

I criticized next the utterly erroneous translation (p. 332) of the first verse in *śloka* (e) quoted above (text, p. 304) viz., *evaṃ maṇḍalam ātmārthaṃ vijigīṣur niveśayet* as "thus the conqueror should, through the aid of his friends, bring the circle of States under his own sway." The question of 'bringing under sway' does not arise in the context, nor can the words *ātmārthaṃ niveśayet* convey that sense. The absurdity of T's contention that to utilize the services of other kings, they must be brought under sway will be apparent by a reference to the case of America joining the Allies in the Great War. Does T mean to say that America had been brought under the sway of England and France before she agreed to render her services to them in the War? The verse means, 'thus the *vijigīṣu* should engage the members of the circle of States(*maṇḍalaṃ niveśayet*) to serve his own purpose (*ātmārtham*). The subject dealt with in the text is the utilization of the services of the kings of the *Maṇḍala* (circle of States) either by enlisting their assistance directly in favour of the *vijigīṣu*, or by setting one or more of them against the *vijigīṣu's* enemies.

36. *CR.*, 127; *IHQ.*, 404. The text (p. 305) *mitrabhūtaḥ sapatnānāṃ hatvā hatvā ca saṃvṛtaḥ* has been translated by T as "and having again and again destroyed the strength of his enemies, he should keep his counsels concealed, being friendly with his friends." Here *hatvā* has been rendered by 'having destroyed the *strength of* his enemies', the words 'the strength of' being wrongly and unnecessarily supplied from imagination. *Saṃvṛtaḥ* has been translated as 'he should keep his counsels concealed' though the question of 'counsels' does not arise at all in the text. The word simply means 'being concealed, i.e., secretly.' Again *mitrabhūtaḥ* has been rendered by 'being friendly with his

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friends', which is a flagrantly erroneous translation. It means 'acting as a friend', i.e., under the guise of a friend. Thus the whole verse means 'killing (the enemies) secretly under the guise of their friend'. T asserts in his reply that '*mitrabhūtaḥ*' does not mean 'under the guise of their friend'. The interpretation put by me is so obvious that no explanation is needed (cf. *kṣaṇabhūteva nau rātriḥ saṃvṛtteyam*—*Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 65, 3; see also *bhāṣyabhūta* in the *Śiśupālavadha*, II, 24, and *suhṛdbhūta* in the *Pañcatantra*, 81, 5). He also states, *saṃvṛtaḥ* is an adjective to *vijigīṣu* but not an adverb modifying *hatvā* (killing). As already stated, *saṃvṛta* means 'being concealed' i.e., secretly, and so it is not an adverb modifying killing.

37. & 38. *CR.*, 127; *IHQ.*, 404, 405. In the passage *K.*, VII, 14, p. 305 (last line), the word *atisaṃhitāḥ* should be rendered by 'outwitted' and not by 'well-combined' as done by T (transl., p. 333). That the term cannot mean 'well-combined' in the sentence will be clear from a scrutiny of the text **अथ उभयवेतनाः फलभूयस्त्वं दर्शयन्तः सामवायिकान् "अतिसंहिताः स्थः" इति उद्घूषयेयुः** (text, p. 305, last two lines).

The passage contains advice as to how a weak king, when attacked by an enemy grown stronger by combination with other powers, should cause disputes among the parties to the combination through spies in order that the combination might fall through The spies sent by the weak king approach the allies of the enemy and point out to them the disadvantage in the combination made by them. The spies impress upon the allies that the leader of the combination (i.e., the enemy of the weak king) is gaining much greater advantages than they, who are thus being 'outwitted' (*atisaṃhitāḥ*). The term *atisandhāna* or the verb *ati—sam—dhā* has been used in this sense in various places in the *Kauṭilīya*, where T himself has translated it as such

Text	p. 287—*atisandhatte*:	T's Transl., p. 316—	*overreaches.*
,,	p. 288—*atisandhīyate*:	,, p. 317—	*will...be deceived.*
,,	p. 284—*atisandadhyāt*:	,, p. 313—	*may deceive.*
,,	p. 288— Do. :	,, p. 318—	Do.
,,	p. 252—*atisandhāna*:	,, p. 281—	*deception.*

But here T says in reply (item 38), "*atisaṃhitāḥ* means both cheated and well combined."

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While suggesting a translation of the word *atisaṃhitāḥ* in my criticism, I explained the term *ubhayavetana*. To show clearly that it was an explanation, I put the explanatory words within brackets and after "i.e." In spite of this precaution, T does not hesitate to indulge in unwarranted verbosity against me. Says he,

"Does the word convey so much meaning? The critic is very generous with the words."

39. *CR.*, 127: *IHQ.*, 405. The text relating to the point touched in this item is *duṣṭeṣu sandhiṃ dūṣayet* (p. 306). This has been translated by T as "If some of the kings of the combination are wicked, they may be made to break the treaty" (transl., p. 333). My criticism was to the effect that *duṣṭa* in the sentence "should not be translated as 'wicked' having regard to the context. The reference is to the alienation of the allies from their leader by the suggestion made above (see item 38) that they have been outwitted". T does not meet my arguments saying that I have not suggested the rendering. In spite of my clear statement that "the reference is to the *alienation* of the allies from the leader", T pretends not to find in the statement the suggested rendering for *duṣṭa*, which is 'when alienated'. The translation of the whole passage quoted above is "when alienated, the alliance should be caused to be broken".

I also pointed out that T's translation has been vitiated by the existence of the readings (a) *pūrvānyatarābhāve* (b) *kanyādānayauvanābhyām* and (c) *kṛtasandhihīnam* at p. 306, ll. 6, 8, & 15. The Trivandrum edition (vol. II, pp. 331, 332) has *pūrvān uttarābhāve, kanyādānayāpanābhyām* and *kṛtasandhir hīnam* for (a), (b) and (c) respectively. The readings in T's text yield no cogent meaning. He replies that none of the manuscripts consulted by him have those readings. I wish I could have relied on his statement that all the manuscripts consulted by him contain the wrong readings but in view of the tricks to which he has stooped in connection with the items (8), (23), (29), (31) and (42) and in view of the readings in the Trivandrum edition, I am sorry, I cannot do so.

40. *CR.*, 127; *IHQ.*, 405. The heading of the 15th chapter of the VIIth Book of the *Kauṭilīya* (p. 308), *balavatā vigṛhyoparodhahetavaḥ*

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daṇḍopanāyivṛttaṃ ca has been wrongly translated by T as "measures conducive to peace with a strong and provoked enemy; and the attitude of a conquered enemy".

I suggested that the first part of the heading should be rendered as "The reasons (*hetavaḥ*) for shutting (*uparodha*) [oneself in a fort] while waging war (*vigṛhya*) with a powerful enemy (*balavatā*)." I have put the Sanskrit terms by the side of some of the English equivalents to facilitate comparison.

Uparodha can never mean "measures conducive to peace". T in reply does not say anything to defend his own translation but finds fault with my rendering on the ground that "*uparodha* does not mean shutting oneself in a fort". That the root *rudh* used with *upa* signifies 'to shut up' is well-known (see Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 205, col. 2). This meaning also finds support from the contents of the chapter speaking of a weak king seeking shelter inside a fort as one of the means of self-defence against an attack upon him by a strong. In a similar situation, the *Kāmandakīya* (XIV, 56) also advises the weak king to resort to a fort (*abhiyukto balavatā tiṣṭhan durge prayatnavān*) where the commentator Śaṅkarārya uses the term *uparuddha* with reference to the king who shuts himself up in a fort (*ātmānaṃ uparuddhaṃ mocayet—Kāmandakīya-Nītisāra*, Trivandrum ed., p. 133). It will be interesting to note that T himself translates differently the term *uparodhahetavaḥ* mentioned elsewhere in the *Kauṭilīya* (XII, 5, p. 391—*uparodhahetavo daṇḍopanatavṛtte vyākhyātāḥ*) in a reference to this very chapter as "Measures to obstruct the movements of the enemy" (transl., p. 420).

As regards the second portion of the heading, I remarked that *daṇḍopanata* cannot be rendered properly as 'a conquered enemy, because the conquered enemy is not always a *daṇḍopanata*. He may request the victor for a treaty of peace, but when he is weaker still and therefore cannot expect to enter into any treaty of peace with better terms, he surrenders himself to the mercy of the conqueror (*Nayacandrikā*, p. 36: *sandhyantarānabhyupagame ātmārpaṇena sandhyabhidhānārthaṃ sūtraṃ daṇḍenopanatavṛttam iti*). It is then that he becomes *daṇḍopanata*. The root *nam* means 'to submit', 'to surrender'; hence *upa-nata* = 'one who has submitted (one's self)' and *daṇḍopanata* = lit.,

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'one who has submitted (one's self) under force'. Keeping this meaning in view, I coined the word 'self-submitter' to stand for *daṇḍopanata*. I may mention that the root *nam* found in *daṇḍopanata* has been the basis of the formation of the noun *praṇāma*, which has been explained by Śaṅkarārya in his commentary on the *Kāmandakīya* (p. 142) as *tavāham ity ātmopanidhānam* i.e., self-submission. There is no substance in T's argument that there is no idea of 'self' in the word *daṇḍopanata* and there is no idea of *daṇḍa* in the expression 'self-submitter'. I have shown above how the idea of self comes from the implication of the expression *daṇḍopanata* and how the idea of *daṇḍa* is implied in self-submission. I ask T in return, what is the word corresponding to *daṇḍa* in his rendering of *daṇḍopanata* as 'conquered king'? T's rendering 'conquered king', as shown above, is neither literal nor exact.

41. *CR.*, 127; *IHQ.*, 405. The passage *tulyadurgāṇām nicayāpasārato viśeṣaḥ* (*K.*, VII, 15, p. 308) has not been correctly rendered by T in his translation (p. 336). He puts it as "*when there are many forts*, difference should be sought in their affording facility for the collection of stores and *supplies*". Here the right meanings of the terms *apasāra* and *tulya* have been missed by T. *Apasāra* cannot mean 'supply'. It signifies *apasaraṇamārga* (see *Nayacandrikā*, p. 39, l. 9), i.e. 'a passage for exit'. T himself has taken it in that sense at p. 39 of his translation (*K.*, I, 20, p. 40-*suṣirastambha praveśāpasāram*). It will be interesting to note how he translates the same word *apasāra* with the same meaning differently in different places in the *Kauṭilīya*, e.g., as 'a passage for exit' at p. 39, as 'help' at p. 331, as 'supply' at p. 336, as 'a friend' at p. 337, as 'defensive works' at p. 338, and as 'strongholds' at p. 29 (text: *apasārabhūmi*).

The passage contains advice to a king seeking shelter inside a fort. The meaning of the sentence is 'of forts of (apparently) equal advantages (*tulyadurgāṇām*), the supply of provisions (*nicaya*) and means of escape (*apasāra*) constitute the distinguishing merit (or, superiority)'. T does not touch at all my objections to the meanings of *apasāra* and *tulya*, but raises new issues by saying that *viśeṣa* does not mean superiority, while *nicaya* means 'collection of things' and not 'necessaries of life'. I have given above the literal translation of the passage and it will be

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seen that if one of the forts be selected to the exclusion of the remaining ones, it is 'superior' in the circumstances. That *viśeṣa* may mean 'superiority' need not be proved, because it is well-known (see Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 990, col. 2). Moreover 'provisions', the meaning of the term *nicaya* (see Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*), is the same as 'necessaries of life'. *Nicaya* has been explained as *dhānyādisaṃgraha* in the *Nayacandrikā* (p. 174). Hence, my renderings are correct.

42. *CR.*, 127 f.; *IHQ.*, 405f. The translation of the heading of the chapter *daṇḍopanāyivṛttam* (VII, 16) as "the attitude of a *conquered* king" is utterly erroneous. This rendering conveys a sense which is the very reverse of what is meant. The palpable mistake has been repeated through all the three editions of the translation. The wrong impression that the chapter treats of the conduct of a *conquered* king has given rise to mistaken renderings in many places. T has no other alternative than to admit that "conquered king in the translation is a mistake for conquering king", but yet he must, as usual, tag some disparaging remarks to the admission. He finds fault with the word 'dominator' which I have used in my *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India* as a synonym for *daṇḍopanāyin*. The Sanskrit term means literally *daṇḍena balena upa samīpe nayati iti* (see *Nayacandrikā*, p. 38) 'one who brings (another) under him by force' i.e., one who dominates another.

I showed by reference to the translation (p. 338) of the opening paragraph of the chapter (*K.*, VII, 16) how it reflects T's confusion of ideas as to the difference between the *daṇḍopanāyin* (dominator) and the *daṇḍopanata* (self-submitter). The portion of the text necessary for reference in this discussion is

अनुज्ञातस्तद्धिरण्योद्वेगकरं बलवान् विजिगीषमाणः यायात् ।

As T is under the impression that the chapter deals with the 'attitude of a conquered king', he has taken the word *balavān* to refer to a *vassal* king. The word, in fact, refers to the dominator (*daṇḍopanāyin*). The passage quoted above means 'when a powerful king (*balavān* i.e., the dominator) intends to subdue (*vijigīṣamāṇaḥ*) one who, having made a promise (*anujñātaḥ=anujñāṃ vidhāya - lyab lope karmaṇi pañcamī*,

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see Trivandrum ed., Mm. Ganapati Sastri's commentary) [to pay] causes anxiety in regard to [the payment of] the money (*taddhiraṇyo-dvegakaram*), he should march (*yāyāt*).....'. But T renders the passage thus (transl., p. 338):

"In view of causing financial trouble *to his protector*, a powerful *vassal* king, desirous of making conquests, may under the permission of his *protector* march....." T here contemplates a powerful vassal king who goes out to make conquests with the permission of his protector. But as a matter of fact, the vassal king is the *daṇḍopanata*, who cannot be powerful. It was on account of his helpless condition that he at last had to surrender himself to the mercy of the *daṇḍopanāyin* (see the last portion of the previous chapter i.e., *K.*, VII, 15). To speak of him as bent on conquests is absurd. Hence, the introduction of the words 'a powerful vassal king' in the translation is without any support in the text. Again, the use of the term 'protector' twice in the translation is also without any justification, because it is without its equivalent in the Sanskrit text. T says in his reply that the term *tat* in *taddhiraṇyo-dvegakaram* refers to *bhartṛ* in the word *bhartāram* found at the end of the second paragraph on page 312 of the text. The passage we are discussing occurs at the top of p. 311 of the text, and so *tat* according to T refers to a noun that comes after a full page and a half. Assuming that it is so, T's position will not improve the least, because the term *bhartāram* in the passage at p. 312 does not mean what T calls the 'protector'. It means 'owner' i.e., the *daṇḍopanata* king, who was the former *svāmin* of the land (see *Nayacandrikā*, p. 43, l. 1: *bhartāram pūrvasvāminam*). Moreover how can the whole expression *taddhiraṇyo-dvegakaram* which is obviously the object of *vijigīṣamāṇaḥ* be translated as "in view of causing financial trouble to the protector"?

Now as to T's criticism of my rendering, I would reply: (a) *Anujñā* means *abhyupagama* (*Nayacandrikā*, p. 39) i.e., assent or promise; *tat* refers to that *anujñā* (i.e., the promise of payment). As in many other cases, T misrepresents me here again by insinuating that I have translated *anujñāta* as 'dominator' (see *CR.*, p. 129, l. 5) which I have never done. This only shows that T himself is in confusion which in his reply has become worse confounded.

(b) Next, I pointed out a blemish in T's edition of the text at p. 311

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where the sentence commencing with *evam utsāhavato* has been ended after *sthāpayet*, while it should be linked up with the next line which has been wrongly tagged on to a new paragraph. T as usual makes the assertion that the sentence has been put in the text rightly and rounds off his statement with the remark "the critic is so blinded with prejudice that he cannot see things as they are". So I am caustically asked to believe that the blind have eyes. The blemish is there in the *text*, and *a reference to the translation* cannot remove it.

As regards my criticism viz., "the translation (p. 339) speaks of reinstatement of kings by the powerful vassal king, while in fact it deals with the question as to how the dominator will utilize the services of the self-submitters of various descriptions", T is silent.

43. *CR.*, 129; *IHQ.*, 406f. The text (last para., p. 311) mentions six kinds of helping kings, the first set of three doing good to the dominator directly (*Nayacandrikā*, p. 41—*arthaprāptau*) and the second set of three doing good to him indirectly by preventing harm (*Nayacandrikā*, p. 41—*anarthaparihāre*). In view of this fact, the incorrect reading (p. 312) *yad amitram āsāraṃ copakaroti tad ubhayatobhogi* should be replaced by the correct one found in the Trivandrum edition viz., *yad amitram āsāraṃ cāpakaroti tad ubhayatobhogi*. The translation should be 'he who *harms* the enemy as well as the enemy's ally helps in two ways'. But T's translation runs thus: "Whoever *helps* also his enemy and his enemy's allies is a friend offering enjoyment to *both sides*" (p. 339). T's reply betrays that he has misunderstood the whole situation, as otherwise he could not have explained 'both sides' in his translation as 'friend and enemy'. How can a *daṇḍopanata*, who has made an abject surrender and whose services are being utilized by the *daṇḍopanāyin* can venture to *help the enemy of the daṇḍopanāyin* (as represented in T's translation)? T criticizes my interpretation by stating "what the two ways are is not clear". It is clear as daylight, but may not be so to T. The *Nayacandrikā* (p. 20, l. 8) explains the terms thus:

यत् अमित्रम् आसारं च उभयतः प्रतिकरोति तत् उभयतोभोगि ।

'*Apakaroti* has been explained as *pratikaroti*. It cannot be *upakaroti* as T contends. One who harms or checks both the *mitra* (enemy) and

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the *āsāra* (enemy's friend) [of the dominator] can certainly be regarded as helping that king in *two ways*.

44. *CR.*, 129; *IHQ.*, 407. I pointed out the erroneous character of the translation of a passage dealing with the disposal of a piece of land by a strong king after it has been wrested from a weak king in conflict. The text (p. 312) runs as follows:—

परेणानधिवास्यया स्वयमेव भर्त्तारमुपग्राहयेत् ।

It means that [the *daṇḍopanāyin*] should himself (*svayam eva*) conciliate (*upagrāhayet*) the owner (*bhartāram* i.e., the former owner of the land) by (giving him) a piece of land which cannot be occupied (*anadhivāsyayā*) by any one else (*pareṇa*). But T translates it as "(he should provide) his *own protector* with an uninhabitable land". As the advice contained in the whole paragraph is meant for the *daṇḍopanāyin* (the dominator) and not for the *daṇḍopanata* (self-submitter) whom T calls a vassal king, the translation has become the reverse of what is meant. Here *bhartāram* refers to the (former) owner (*pūrvasvāminam—Nayacandrikā*, p. 43) and not the king whom T calls 'protector'. Moreover, the term *pareṇa* has not at all been translated by T. He admits the omission of the equivalent of *pareṇa* in the translation, but in his reply renders it as 'by an enemy' which cannot be the meaning here. *Pareṇa* means 'by any one else' in the sentence (*tato'nyena—Nayacandrikā*, p. 43).

The next two points of my criticism have not been touched by T. In connection with the last point I remarked that sentences like *dattvā cābhayam piteva anugṛhṇīyāt* (text, p. 312) ['should like a father protect those who are promised security from fear' (transl., p. 340)] cannot refer to what should be done by 'a vassal king' to the 'protector' (using T's terminology). On the contrary, they speak of the duties of the 'protector', i.e., the dominator towards his 'vassal kings' i.e., the self-submitters.

It was also remarked that the sentence (p. 313) *evam asya daṇḍopanatāḥ putrapautrān anuvartante* [thus (i.e., if such a course be adopted), the *daṇḍopanatas* will loyally follow his (*daṇḍopanāyin's*) sons and grandsons] shows conclusively that the line of action suggested in the chapter is meant for the *daṇḍopanāyin* and not for the *daṇḍopanatas*.

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At the end of my criticisms in connection with this item, I stated that in view of the very many errors arising from T's wrong impression of the subject-matter of the chapter, the translation of the whole chapter should be re-written. T replies (*CR.*, p. 128)

"with regard to interpretation of the chapter, I am convinced that I am right and that he is wrong."

45. *CR.*, 130; *IHQ.*, 407f. The opening sentence of ch. 18 of bk. VII of the *Kauṭilīya* should be *madhyamasya ātmā tṛtīyā pañcamī ca prakṛtī prakṛtayaḥ* (see *Nayacandrikā*, p. 55, l. 3; as also the Trivandrum ed.) instead of *madhyamasya ātmatṛtīyā* etc., as found in T's edition of the text (p. 317). This wrong reading is responsible for the error in the translation. In the first two sentences of the chapter, a grouping of certain States in the *maṇḍala* has been made. The Madhyama himself and the third and the fifth States from him (i.e., *mitra* and *mitramitra*) are *prakṛtis* (i.e., natural friends—*prakṛṣṭakaraṇāt prakṛtitvam—Nayacandrikā*, p. 55) while the second, fourth and sixth States from the *Madhyama* (i.e., *ari*, *arimitra* and *arimitramitra*) are *vikṛtis* (i.e., natural enemies—*viruddhakaraṇād vikṛtitvam—Nayacandrikā*, p. 55). T criticises the reading pointed out by me on the ground that, according to it, the *Madhyama* becomes friendly 'to himself'— 'a self-evident statement for which there is no use'. I have already stated that such a grouping has been made for convenience of reference and for pointing out the States that are naturally friendly. For a parallel statement, in the *Kauṭilīya*, I would refer him to the passage in VII, 2, p. 261 (*vijigīṣur mitraṃ mitramitraṃ vā 'sya prakṛtayaḥ*) where the *vijigīṣu himself* and *mitra* and *mitramitra* (i.e., the third and fifth States from him) have been called *prakṛtis*.

It was shown in support of the reading *ātmā tṛtīyā* instead of *ātmatṛtīyā* that with the adoption of the latter reading supported by T, the use of the word *prakṛtayaḥ* would be out of place, as there will remain in that case only two *prakṛtis* for which the use of the dual number instead of the plural number would be in order. T makes an amusing remark in reply to this argument:

"The use of '*prakṛtayaḥ*' in plural is only to balance with '*vikṛtayaḥ*' in the next sentence."

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T should be reminded that it is not a question of rhyming.

As to my remark that the situation contemplated in the next two sentences of the first paragraph of ch. 18, bk. VII has been misunderstood by T in view of the fact that the words 'those States' found in his translation (p. 344) "the conqueror should be friendly with *those states*" evidently refer to both *prakṛtis* and *vikṛtis* while the text speaks only of *prakṛtis*, T has no other alternative than to admit that "the omission of '*prakṛti*' is an oversight."

46. *CR.*, 130; *IHQ.*, 408, 409. (a) The text (p. 317) *madhyamaś ced vijigīṣor mitraṃ mitrabhāvi lipseta.....mitraṃ trāyeta* has been translated by T (p. 344) as "if the *Madhyama* king *is desirous of securing the friendship of* the conqueror's *would-be* friend.....the conqueror should preserve his own friend". I objected to the renderings of the words *lipseta* and *mitrabhāvi* italicized in the translation quoted above. The term *lipseta* does not in the context convey the sense of 'securing friendship' in view of the nature of the *mitrabhāvi mitra* as depicted by *Kauṭilya* (VII, 9, p. 291) viz.,

एकार्थानर्थसम्बन्धमुपकार्यविकारि च।
मित्रभावि भवत्येतन्मित्रमद्वैध्यमापदि॥

T's translation of this passage is as follows (p. 320): "That friend who contracts friendship with a single aim in view, and who is helpful, *immutable*, and amicable, *is a friend never falling foul even in adversity*".

If *madhyama* be assumed to be desirous of securing the friendship of the *mitrabhāvi mitra* of the *vijigīṣu*, the question of the protection (see *trāyeta* in the text) of the *mitrabhāvi mitra* by the *vijigīṣu* against the *madhyama* cannot arise. The fact is that the *madhyama* is going to bring under him the *mitrabhāvi mitra* of the *vijigīṣu* and therefore the word *lipseta* has been used. The term means 'if (one) wants to have', i.e., 'if one wants to have (the *mitrabhāvi mitra*) under him' (cf. *Nayacandrikā* p. 55—yadi ādātum icchet).

Again, the term *mitrabhāvimitra* cannot be rendered by the expression 'would-be friend' as done by T, because it means 'a real friend'. He is mentioned as 'immutable' in the definition quoted above.

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T asks in his reply "What did the critic gain by such change of words?" My answer is that the gain lies in the correction of the errors committed by T.

(b) As regards T's misleading renderings of the terms *madhyama* and *udāsīna*, I have already made some remarks in connection with item 19. I want to add that the description of *madhyama* and *udāsīna* given in the *Kauṭilīya* (VI, 2, pp. 261, 262) and referred to by me in my original criticism (*IHQ.*, 409) supports my contention. The *Kāmandakīya* (Trivandrum ed., p. 107) is also explicit about the meanings of the two terms. Śaṅkarārya, the commentator of the work, comments as follows:—

मध्यमो बलवान्। तस्मादपि यो बलवत्तरः स उदासीनसंज्ञः।...तस्मादुदासीनात परतः अधिकतरो नास्ति।

In view of these authoritative statements, my renderings as 'Medium-State' and 'Super-State' are correct. T finds fault with my explanatory note on the term *udāsīna*, viz., *ut=ūrddhvam āsīnaḥ*, i.e., seated on a height, or in other words, the strongest power in the *maṇḍala*, because, according to him, it is unauthorized and unacceptable to the Sanskritists. He does not state the reason why it is unacceptable. I have named above the authorities, one of whom expressly states that 'there is in the *maṇḍala* no power stronger than the *udāsīna*'.

47. *CR.*, 130f., *IHQ.*, 409. T admits that he is at fault in regard to the translation of the verse (VII, 18, p. 320) *nopakuryāt amitraṃ vā gacched yad atikarśitam*, in which the most important portion viz., *amitraṃ vā gacchet* has not been translated at all (transl., p. 347,.

I have given my reasons at the outset (p. 167-8) why *cala* means 'unstable', though T is unaware of this meaning. It cannot be "wandering i.e., nomadic" as T contends. The context in which *calaṃ mitram* occurs (text, p. 320) makes it imperative that *cala* should be rendered by 'unstable' or some other word of the same import. The *Kauṭilīya* (p. 320) says, "If a *cala* (unstable) friend be found willing to enter into an alliance on receipt of money, the cause for not entering into the alliance should be removed i.e., money should be paid to make him stable (*na caled yathā*)" (see *Nayacandrikā*, p. 64—*calananetum arthalipsā-*

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dikaṃ svayaṃ pradānādinā'pi hanyāt yathā punar na calet ity arthaḥ). In this passage *cala* cannot be taken as 'nomadic'.

48. *CR.*, 131; *IHQ.*, 409f. The verse (*K.*, VII, 18, p. 320) *niveśya pūrvaṃ tatrānyaṃ daṇḍānugrahahetunā* has been translated by T (p. 347) as "having made some previous arrangements to punish or favour the friend". My criticisms were: (a) *niveśya* means 'having stationed' (see *Nayacandrikā*, p. 65—*tatra anyaṃ sthāpayitvā*) and does not contain the idea of 'making arrangements'; and (b) *daṇḍānugrahahetunā* signifies 'for rendering military help' (see *Nayacandrikā*, p. 65—*daṇḍena sāhāyyakaraṇārtham*) and should not be translated as "to punish or favour the friend". T states in his reply that *daṇḍānugraha* cannot be interpreted as "military help". "The appropriate word for it" says he "is *daṇḍasāhāyya*". The attempt to draw a line of demarcation between *daṇḍānugraha* and *daṇḍasāhāyya* is very amusing, specially when it is found that T himself translates *balena anugṛhṇīyāt* in the immediately preceding *śloka* (text, p. 320) as "should *help* with the army" (transl., p. 347). Thus, according to T, though *anugṛhṇīyāt* means 'should help', *anugraha* cannot mean 'help'. Splendid reasoning, indeed!

T adduces another argument against the adoption of *daṇḍānugraha* in the sense of military help, viz., the rendering of such help cannot bring the wavering king, receiving the help, to the side of the helper. But it should be remembered that the wavering king is weak and is in need of military help; and the receipt of such help from either the *vijigīṣu* or the *amitra* fixes him up with the side from which the help is obtained.

49. *CR.*, 131f.; *IHQ.*, 410. In the translation (p. 347) of the next *śloka* (*K.*, VII, 18, p. 320)

अपकुर्यात् समर्थं वा नोपकुर्याद्यदापदि ।
उच्छिन्द्यादेव तन्मित्रं विश्वस्याङ्कमुपस्थितम् ॥

the first portion of the first verse has been wrongly rendered by T. His translation is as follows: "The conqueror may harm him when he has grown powerful, or destroy him when he does not help the conqueror in danger and when he lies on the conqueror's lap in good faith". Here,

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the portion of the passage "The conqueror may harm him when he has grown powerful" should be corrected into "(the *mitra*) who does harm (to the *vijigīṣu*) when powerful". The *śloka* means that a *mitra*, who does harm to the *vijigīṣu* if he has power, or who does not render him help in times of difficulty, should be ruined by the *vijigīṣu* at an opportune moment when he comes within his (*vijigīṣu's*) reach in confidence. Here *yat samartham apakuryāt* and (*yat*) *āpadi vā na upakuryāt* are two adjectival clauses qualifying *tat mitram* in the second verse. T, however, makes *vijigīṣu* the subject of *apakuryāt*. According to T's rendering, one does not find any reason why the *vijigīṣu* harms the *mitra* when grown powerful. Moreover, it is not supported by the very reasonable explanation of the *Nayacandrikā* (p. 65) viz.,

यत्तु समर्थं सत् विजिगीषोरपकुर्यात् तस्य आपदि न वा उपकुर्यात् परिहारार्थं न चेष्टेत, तत् मित्रम्...उच्छिन्द्यादेव ।

The rendering suggested by me is in consonance with the *Nayacandrikā*. T criticizes the rendering on the ground that "if *apakuryāt samartham vā* is taken as an adjectival sentence to '*mitra*', then what is the use of the second adjectival sentence *nopakuryāt yad āpadi*? For he who does harm to the Central State will never help it in danger. Hence, the second adjectival clause will be of no use". I may point out to T that the two adjectival sentences are alternative to each other, as indicated by the particle *vā* standing between the two sentences. Therefore, his criticism is baseless.

50. *CR.*, 132; *IHQ.*, 410. I criticized T's translation (p. 347) of the last *śloka* at p. 320 of the text as altogether wide of the mark. The *śloka* is as follows:

अमित्रव्यसनान्मित्रमुत्थितं यद्विरज्यति ।
अरिव्यसनसिद्ध्या तच्छत्रुणैव प्रसिध्यति ।।

It means 'If a *mitra* after growing in power (*utthitam*) owing to the calamities of his enemy (*amitravyasanāt*) becomes disaffected (*virajyati*) [towards the *vijigīṣu*], then by the removal of the calamities of that enemy (*arivyasanasiddhyā*) he (*tat* = the *mitra*) is brought under control (*prasidhyati*) through that very enemy (*śatruṇaiva*) [of the mitra].

But T relegating the reading *yad virajyati* to the foot-note in his

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edition of the text (p. 320) adopts *sad virajyati* instead and translates the *śloka* thus (p. 347): "When a friend keeps quiet after rising against an enemy under troubles, that friend will be subdued by the enemy himself after getting rid of his troubles".

Here, *virajyati* has been rendered by 'keeps quiet' while it means 'becomes disaffected'. T's translation is meaningless because there is no reason why a friend should 'keep quiet' after rising against his enemy specially when the enemy is 'under troubles', affording him time to get rid of his troubles and take vengeance upon him (the friend). Further, while all the *ślokas* speak of the conduct of the *vijigīṣu* towards his *mitras*, there is no reason why this *śloka* would deviate from this line and speak of the conduct of the *mitra* towards his enemy. My interpretation is supported by the *Nayacandrikā* (pp. 65, 66) as also by the commentary of Mm. Ganapati Sastri (vol. II, p. 367). Against this interpretation T says that "'*utthitam*' does not mean 'growing in power'. Being a perfect participle of the verb '*sthā*', to stand, it always means one who has risen or that which has risen'." For the meaning of root *ut—sthā*, I may refer him to the verse *uttiṣṭhamānas tu paro nopekṣyaḥ pathyam icchatā* of the *Śiśupālavadha*, II, 10 where *uttiṣṭhamānaḥ* has been paraphrased by Mallinātha as *vardhamānaḥ* (growing powerful). As a past participle of *ut—sthā* (not perfect participle as T says), *utthitam* can well signify 'grown in power' and when connected with a verb in the present tense e.g., with *virajyati* in the passage under consideration, it can be rendered either by 'having grown in power' or by 'after growing in power.'

As regards T's statement that *virajyati* "does not mean disaffected, or indisposed to favour or support, turn out unfriendly or hostile," I need only refer him to the following passages where the verb *vi—rañj* has been used in the sense of 'to become disaffected.'

तत् सा विद्याधरी रक्ताप्यनुरागपरा क्षणात् ।
प्राप्य कञ्चित् स्वजातीयं विरज्येत् त्वयि मानुषे ॥

Kathāsaritsāgara, 37, 144.

विरज्यन्ति न मित्रेभ्यः ।

Mahābhārata (Cal. ed.), Śāntiparva, 6285.

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किमनुरक्तो विरक्तो वा मयि स्वामी ।

Hitopadeśa, 53, 18.

The verb or its derivatives have been used in the same sense in many places in the *Kauṭilīya* itself e.g.

VIII, 5, p. 338—कृच्छ्रेण साध्यते मित्रं सिद्धं चाशु विरज्यति ।

VII, 5, p. 277—क्षीणाः प्रकृतयो लोभं लुब्धा यान्ति विरागताम् ।
विरक्ता यान्त्यमित्रं वा भर्तारं घ्नन्ति वा स्वयम् ॥

It is interesting to note that T himself renders *virāgatāṃ yānti* and *viraktāḥ* found in the last passage quoted above as "become disaffected" and "disaffected" respectively (transl., p. 305).

It is a matter for regret that I have been put to the necessity of explaining at length the obvious meaning of a word like *virajyati*. T's objection that *śatruṇā* can never mean 'through the enemy' is very futile. I refer him to the *Nayacandrikā* (p. 66) *śatruṇā eva sādhitaṃ bhavati*, which fully supports me.

Again, T's objection that *prasidhyati* does not at all mean 'is brought under control' is baseless, because the term means, according to the *Nayacandrikā* (p. 66), "*sādhitaṃ bhavati*" i.e., 'is brought under control'. For this meaning of the root *sidh* cf. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 30, 17.

एवं कलिङ्गसेनाऽसौ तव सेत्स्यति सुन्दरि ।

Ibid., 46, 188, 189—

सिद्धानि चाऽस्य रत्नानि विद्याश्चाद्यापि किं पुनः ।
नैतस्यौषधयः सिद्धास्तेन मे दूयते मनः ॥
चन्द्रपादगिरौ ताश्च सर्वाः सन्ति गुहान्तरे ।
सिध्यन्ति पुण्यभाजश्च चक्रवर्त्तिन एव ताः ।

Cf. also Böhtlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, pt. VII, 1002 under root *sidh*—

अपि वोर्योत्कटः शत्रुर्यतो भेदेन सिध्यति ।

In this connection, T remarks

"By his translation, the critic has taught us here a new political lesson. It is that in order to bring under control a hostile friend, an enemy may be helped to get rid of his troubles".

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That it is not a 'new political lesson' will be evident from the following passages in the *Kāmandakīya* where it is stated that (a) a false friend should be treated ruthlessly like an enemy, and (b) an enemy can be treated as a friend if the purpose in view can be served.

(*a*) भोगप्राप्तं विकुर्वाणं मित्रमप्यवपीड़येत् ।
अत्यन्तविकृतं हन्यात् स पापीयान् रिपुर्मतः ॥

Kāmandakīya, VIII, 74, p. 119.

(*b*) अमित्रानपि कुर्वीत मित्राण्युपचयावहान् ।
अहिते वर्तमानानि मित्राण्यपि परित्यजेत् ॥

Ibid., VIII, 76, p. 120.

I have now come to the conclusion of my examination of each of the arguments put forward by T in defence. As the result of this examination we find that

(a) T has said nothing about nineteen of the many errors pointed out by me in my original criticism. Each of these errors regarding which he is silent has been indicated *en passant* in this rejoinder.*

(b) I have shown in connection with the preliminary observations (p. 166) that T has admitted his errors in six instances, viz., items 14, 15, 42, 44, 45 and 47, but in most of them, he has marred the effect of his admission by unjustifiable caustic remarks against me.

(c) In several cases, e.g., items 15, 16, 17, 18, 40 and 41, he has not answered my criticisms, but has attempted to point out faults in my suggestions without any success.

(d) He has also tried to create a wrong impression by attributing to me suggestions not made by me at all, e.g., in items 1, 31, 42,

(e) Lastly, he has stooped to unscholarly dodges in connection with the items 8, 23, 29, 31 and 42. A reference to what I have said in regard to those items will give the readers an idea of the nature of the tricks.

I now repeat my warning that the translation of the *Kauṭilīya*

* In connection with items 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19 (comprising 3 untouched points), 20, 25 (comprising 3 untouched points), 35 (comprising 3 untouched points), 42 and 44 (comprising 3 untouched points).

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made by T is very unreliable. The errors pointed out above from the translation of the seventh Book of the treatise are only illustrative of the character of the translation of the whole work. T has not been able to meet effectively any one of my criticisms in his reply, while his attempts to defend what are actually errors have made his position worse by eliminating the possibility of doubt in regard to one or more of them that they were committed through inadvertence. In view of these facts, I should repeat the caution to the readers against relying on the translation alone for arriving at the correct meanings of the passages in the *Kauṭilīya*.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

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The Soma or Sauma Sect of the Śaivas

Dr. G. Tucci in his Introduction to *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist texts on Logic from Chinese Sources* (p. XXVIII, f. n. 2) has cited two passages where the Saumas or Somasiddhāntavādins are mentioned. In course of my Tantric studies I have come across several such passages which refer to the Soma or Sauma sect. But we do not know anything about the doctrines of this school. A detailed account of the Na-ya-siumo or Naya-sauma (as suggested by Dr. Tucci) School from Chinese sources may be of considerable help in this connexion.

The passages in question are found in the *Vaśiṣṭha Purāṇa*, *Śūtasaṃhitā*, and *Kūrmapurāṇa*. They are quoted in the *Tantrādhikāriniṛṇaya* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, *Vīramitrodaya* of Mitra Miśra, *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā* of Appaya Dīkṣita on the *Śrīkaṇṭhabhāṣya* of the *Vedāntasūtra*. The last two quotations have so far been identified. It will be observed that all the passages refer to the somas as one of the heretic sects.

The passages are:—

1 केचिल्लोकायतं ब्रह्मन् केचित् सोमं महामुने।
नाकुलं कोचिदिच्छन्ति तथा केचित्तु भैरवम्॥[1]

2 कापालं नाकुलं चैव तयोभेदान् द्विजर्षभाः।
तथा पाशुपत सोमं भैरवप्रमुखागमान्॥[2]

3 वामं पाशुपतं सोमं लाङ्गलं चैव भैरवम्।
न सेव्यमेतत् कथितं वेदबाह्यं तथेतरत्॥[3]

This sect is referred to as *Kāmātmavādin* in a work called the *Darśana-kaṇikāsaṃgraha* of Tīrthasvāmin,[4] a manuscript of which is

1 Attributed by the *Tantrādhikāriniṛṇaya* (p. 2 of Rājrājeśvarī Press edition. Benares v.s. 1945) to *Vaśiṣṭhapurāṇa* and *Liṅgapurāṇa* (Ch. IX).

2 Attributed by *Tantrādhikāriniṛṇaya* (p. 13) to *Sūtasaṃhitā* (Yajña-vaibhavakhaṇḍa). It has been identified there as verse 3 of Chap. XXII.

3 *Vīramitrodaya* (vol. I, p. 22) and *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā* of Appaya Dīkṣita (p. 112) attribute it to *Kūrmapurāṇa*.

4 ननु सोमः कामात्मवादी। तदपि भारते परमात्मक्षोत्रे तस्मै कामात्मने नमः (fol. 1b).

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in the Library of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat.[5] According to this work, the philosophy of *Somasiddhānta* is based on dualistic conception.

It is not known if Soma or moon has any connection with the sect. But it should be noted here that the moon, with her digits, plays an important part in the Tantras. *Candrajñānavidyā* forms a part of Tantra theology. There seems to have been two forms of this *Vidyā*. One of these as is included in the doctrines of the Kāpālika Sect of the Śaivas is stated to have been inculcated in the *Candrajñāna Tantra*.[6] The *Candrajñānavidyā* is further stated to have concerned itself with the worship of the sixteen deities called the *Nityās*.

There was also a section of the Tantras known as *Kalāvāda*, i.e., the section that dealt with the exposition of lunar digits. According to Lakṣmīdhara, the works of Vātsyāyana and others deal with Kalāvāda. Topics discussed in this section are represented to have been Kalāgrahaṇa, Kalāmokṣaṇa, Daśasthāgrahaṇa, Candrakatāropaṇa, Paradāragamaṇa, etc.[7]

The other and commendable form of *Candravidyā*, according to Lakṣmīdhara, is Śrīvidyā. Members of all castes have an access to this form while the other one is meant only for the śūdras and other low caste people.[8] It seems to have had a close connection with *Samayācāra* which consists principally of internal mystic worship.

Lakṣmīdhara makes an attempt to prove the close connection of *Candrajñānavidyā* or rather the former type of it and *Kalāvāda* with the *Kāpālikas*, a sect of the Śaivas. The Somas also seem to have been

5 For a short description of the work by the present writer cf. *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* (vol. xxxviii).

6 चन्द्रज्ञानविद्यायां षोडश नित्या-प्रतिपादनम्। नित्या-प्रतिपादकत्वेऽपि कापालिक-मतान्तःपातित्वाद् हेयमेव। उपादेय-चन्द्रज्ञानविद्या चतुष्षष्टितन्त्रातीता।
Lakṣmīdhara in his commentary on *Saundaryalaharī* (Govt. Oriental Library Series, Mysore, p. 82).

7 Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

8 चन्द्रकलाविद्याष्टकं श्रीविद्याप्रतिपादकं तन्त्रम्—चन्द्रकला, ज्योत्स्नावती, कलानिधिः, कुलार्णवम्, कुलेश्वरी, बार्हस्पत्यम्, दूर्वासमेतं चेति। अस्मिन् तन्त्राष्टके त्रैवर्णिकानां शूद्रादीनां चाधिकारोऽस्ति।—Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 85

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a sect of the Śiva-worshippers as they are found to have been mentioned in different places (cf. the passages cited above) together with other Śaiva sects. And they may even have had intimate connection with *Candrajñāna* and *Kalāvāda* if they had anything to do with the moon (as their name would lead one to suppose).

It would be interesting to note here that the Śaivavādī sect whose views are quoted in the *Maṇimekhalai* is stated to have recognised that "the two lights (the sun and the moon), doer and the five elements constitute the basis out of which human beings are made by combination of life and body."[9] It cannot be stated if these Śaivavādis also had any relation with the Somas.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

9 Aiyangar, *Maṇimekhalai in its Historical Setting*, p. 192.

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Kāśakṛtsna

It is well known that Vopadeva in one of the introductory verses to his *Kavikalpadruma* mentions eight early grammarians, viz., Indra, Candra, Kāśakṛtsna, Āpiśali, Śākaṭāyana, Pāṇini, Amara and Jainendra. He refers to them as आदिशाब्दिक and in his *Kāvyakāmadhenu* speaks of them as पूर्वाचार्याः.[1] Indra's name is also mentioned in a commentary on Vopadeva's *Mugdhabodha* which is attributed to the author himself but which is in reality a forgery belonging probably to the 17th century. Here the introductory verses run as follows :—

त्रैलोक्यपितरौ वन्दे गङ्गाधरगदाधरौ । प्रलयस्थितिकर्तारौ भर्त्तारौ जगतां करौ ॥
पाणिनिर्वार्त्तिको भाष्यं महाभाष्यं ततः फणी । प्रक्रियारत्नकारश्च काशिकावृत्तिरेव च ॥
इन्द्रश्चन्द्रो महेन्द्रोऽपि चान्द्रः कान्द्रः कपालिनी । कैयटो हरदत्तश्च कज्जटो दीक्षितः शुभः॥
शाकटायनजैनेन्द्रौ सारस्वतसरोरुहौ । जुमरामरभट्टाश्च मेदिन्याद्या रसाभुजाः ॥
बुद्धिपादकलापौ च रत्नमाला च मालिका । नैयासिकमहाशङ्खौ सुपद्मः कमलासनः ॥
एतेषां मतमालोक्य मुग्धबोधं मया कृतम् । क्रियते तस्य व्याख्यासौ सर्वशास्त्रप्रबोधिनी॥[2]

Of these Indra is hardly more than a mere name to us, though the *Aindra Vyākaraṇa* was extant as late as the middle of the 17th century as is clear from the mention of the work in the Kavīndrācārya list. Durgācārya in his commentary on the *Nirukta*, while speaking of the division of words into parts of speech says : अर्थः पदमैन्द्राणाम्. The same remark is found in the *Kavirāja* on *Kātantra* 1.1.20. अर्थं पदमाहुरैन्द्राः, विभक्तान्तं पदमाहुरापिशलीयाः, सुप्तिङन्तं पदं पाणिनीयाः, इहार्थोपलब्धौ पदमिति वररुचिः। It is worthy of note in this connection that in the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* of Kātyāyana, we find a rule *Arthaḥ padam* (iii. 2), which also appears to be a sūtra of the *Aindra Vyākaraṇa*.[3]

1 The author of the *Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa* says at the outset :

इन्द्रादयोऽपि यस्यान्तं न ययुः शब्दवारिधेः । प्रक्रियां तस्य कृत्स्नस्य क्षमो वक्तुं नरः कथम् ॥

where the reference is clearly to the legend about Indra's studying grammar at the feet of Bṛhaspati and his failing to acquire mastery in word-lore because Bṛhaspati instead of expounding the principles of grammar by means of general rules and exceptions took up individual words and explained them (महाभाष्य, पस्पशाह्निक)

2 The names mentioned here will be discussed in another paper.

3 And the available information regarding the *Aindra Vyākaraṇa* was culled and published by Burnell in his Aindra School of Grammar. Some leaves containing rules of Grammar were discovered by the Central Asia expedition, but it is very doubtful whether the rules are from the Aindra Grammar.

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The first rule of the *Aindra Vyākaraṇa* is quoted by the Jaina commentator Vimalamati as सिद्धिरनुक्तानां रूढेः।

A line from Indra is also quoted by Upamanyu in his commentary on śloka 2 of the Nandikeśvara Kāśikā : तथाचोक्तमिन्द्रेण—अन्त्यवर्णसमुद्भूता धातवः परिकीर्त्तिताः। In the Kātantrapradīpa on II. 4. 13 we read अयाचितारमित्यादिप्रयोगोऽसाधुरेव सदाचारस्य स्मृतितो दुर्बलत्वादितीन्द्रमिश्रेणोक्तम् तत्तुच्छमेव etc. Indramiśra is quoted several times in Hemacandra. This Indramiśra is manifestly a much later writer.

Originally, to each school of grammar there seems to have been attached a lexicon. We find mention of an *Aindra-Nirghaṇṭu* by Vararuci in the Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore (vol. IX, no. 4738). The work begins thus :

पूर्वं पद्मभुवा प्रोक्तं श्रुत्वेन्द्रेण प्रकाशितम्।
तद्बुधेभ्यो वररुचिः कृतवानिन्द्रनामकम्॥

Kātyāyana's *Nāmamāla*, and coming to more recent times, Padmanābhabhaṭṭa's *Bhūriprayoga* are also well-known.

A portion of Candra's grammar together with his own commentary has been published by Liebich, but the last two chapters of the work have still to be discovered and there are reasons to doubt whether the commentary published by Leibich is really from the pen of Candra.

Of Kāśakṛtsna our knowledge is very meagre. Kāśakṛtsni as a mīmāṃsaka is referred to thrice in the *Mahābhāṣya*. (एवमपि काशकृत्स्निना प्रोक्ता मीमांसा काशकृत्स्नीमधीते काशकृत्स्ना ब्राह्मणी—महाभाष्य IV. 1. 4 ; IV. 1. 93 ; IV. 3. 155).

Kāśakṛtsna is mentioned by name in the *Brahmasūtra* (1-4-22). On the strength of a quotation from the *Tattvaratnākara* found in the *Tattvavārttika* on the *Śrībhāṣya*, some are inclined to hold that Kāśakṛtsna is the author of the *Saṅkarṣa Kāṇḍa* of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*. The passage quoted runs thus :

कर्मदेवता ब्रह्मगोचरा सा त्रिधोदबभौ सूत्रकारतः।
जैमिनेर्मुनेः काशकृत्स्नतो बादरायणादित्यतः क्रमात्॥

It is to be noted in this connection that the name as found here and in the *Brahmasūtra* is Kāśakṛtsna whereas that found in the *Mahābhāṣya* is Kāśakṛtsni. So far as I have seen, the *Saṅkarṣa Kāṇḍa* as published from Benares contains nothing like the view attributed to

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Kāśakṛtsna by Bādarāyaṇa, the author of the *Brahmasūtras*,[4] and though the *Saṅkarṣa Kāṇḍa* is fairly early as is evident from the fact that Śabarasvāmī wrote a commentary on it, it is still difficult to hold that Kāśakṛtsna is its author. On the other hand the fact that Śabara says: *Iti Saṅkarṣe vakṣyati* (XII, 2, 11) would lead one to suppose that according to Śabara the *Saṅkarṣa Kāṇḍa* also is from the pen of the author of the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras*. So much for the philosopher Kāśakṛtsna.

The grammar of Kāśakṛtsni appears to be mentioned by Patañjali in the following passage :

पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम्। आपिशलम्। काशकृत्स्नम्।[5]

Since Pāṇini and Āpiśali are grammarians it is not unreasonable to suppose that Kāśakṛtsni, whose work is mentioned here, is also a grammarian. Candra's (?) *Vṛtti* on his own grammar as also the *Kāśikāvṛtti* contain several references to Kāśakṛtsni and his work. From these we learn that the grammar of Kāśakṛtsni consisted of three chapters :

अष्टकं पाणिनीयं सूत्रम्। तदधीयते विदन्ति वा अष्टकाः, पाणिनीयाः, त्रिकाः काशकृत्स्नाः (*Candravṛtti*, II. 1. 42).

पाणिनीयम् अष्टकं सूत्रम्, तदधीयते अष्टकाः, पाणिनीयाः। दशकाः, वैयाघ्रपदीयाः। त्रिकाः, काशकृत्स्नाः। (*Kāśikā*, IV. 2. 65).

आपिशलपाणिनीयाः। पाणिनीयरौढीयाः। रौढीयकाशकृत्स्नाः। (*Ibid.*, VI. 2. 36).

Kāśakṛtsni's grammar is also mentioned in the *Kāśikā* on IV, 3. 115 :

पाणिनीयमकालकं व्याकरणम्। काशकृत्स्नम्। गुरुलाघवम्। शाकपिशलं दुष्करणम्।

but the reading there is evidently corrupt.

Kāśakṛtsna is again mentioned in the Kāśikā on तेन प्रोक्तम् iv. 3. 301 : अन्येन कृता माथुरेण प्रोक्ता माथुरी वृत्तिः। पाणिनीयम्। आपिशलम्। काशकृत्स्नम्।

Kaiyaṭa in his *Vivaraṇa* on Patañjali's *Bhāṣya* on तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च (*Pāṇini* II, 1. 50) quotes a rule of Kāśakṛtsna. Patañjali says : किं पुनर्द्विगुसंज्ञा प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोर्भवति on which Kaiyaṭa remarks : काशकृत्स्नस्य प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोरिति सूत्रम्, तद्विचारयति. पाणिनीयं तु पश्चाद्विचारयिष्यति।

Kṣīrasvāmī in his *Kṣīratarangiṇī* (ii. 60) remarks that according

4 काशकृत्स्नस्याचार्यस्याविकृतः परमेश्वरो जीवो नान्य इति मतम्।.....तत्र काशकृत्स्नीयं मतं श्रुत्यनुसारीति गम्यते प्रतिपिपादयिषितार्थानुसारात्, 'तत्त्वमसि' इत्यादिश्रुतिभ्यः।

5 *Mahābhāṣya*, ed. Kielhorn, p. 12, ll. 5-6.

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to the followers of Kāśakṛtsni the past participle of the root श्वस is formed without the union-vowel *i*: काशकृत्स्ना अस्य (i.e. of the root श्वस्) निष्ठायामनिट्त्वमाहुः। आश्वस्तः। विश्वस्तः। This view is referred to in the *Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti* under the root श्वस्—निष्ठायामिटं नेच्छन्ति काशकृत्स्ना इति स्वामिकाश्यपौ।

From the fact that we find no mention of Kāśakṛtsna or Kāśakṛtsni in the *Nirukta*, *Prātiśākhyas*, or *Pāṇini* as also from the examples in Vāmana's *Vṛtti* on VI. 2. 36 where we read आपिशलपाणिनीयाः, पाणिनीयरौढीयाः, रौढीयकाशकृत्स्नाः, it would appear that Kāśakṛtsna was posterior to Pāṇini though anterior to Patañjali. In all probability Kāśakṛtsna was prior to Kātyāyana also, for the vārttika द्विगुसंज्ञा प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्चेदितरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः seems to refer to Kāśakṛtsna's rule प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च. The name Kāśakṛtsna is found no doubt in the उपकादिगण (II. 4. 69) and the अरीहणादिगण (iv. 2. 80), but the *Gaṇapāṭha* as found in the *Kāśikā* and other works bears unmistakable traces of later manipulation and is therefore unreliable for the purpose of determining dates.

With the materials at our command it is difficult to come to any conclusion as to whether the philosopher Kāśakṛtsna and the grammarian Kāśakṛtsni were one and the same person, though it appears highly probable that Kāśakṛtsna and Kāśakṛtsni refer to the same person.

KSHITISH CHANDRA CHATTERJEE.

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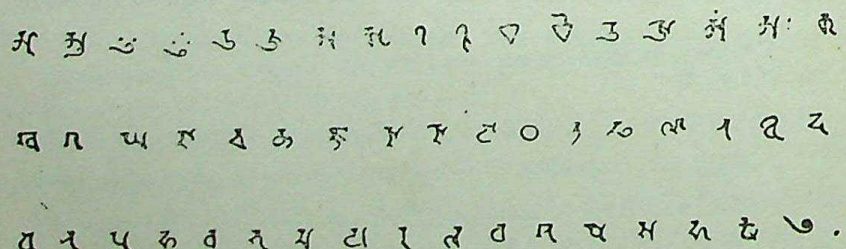
Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva

In his article on this interesting inscription, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Dr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī has opined that the Yaśovarmadeva of this document is identical with the potentate whose name occurs as Yaśodharman in the Mandasor inscription. He has further stated that the King Bālāditya, who also figures in the Nālandā inscription, was the subordinate of Yaśovarmadeva. The accuracy of this view has been questioned by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar[1] (*IHQ.*, VII) and no body has so far criticised the latter. An ordinary perusal of Dr. Śāstrī's article would show that what is being put forward to combat his view has already been considered by him.

Dr. Mazumdar bases his argument on palæography and considers the evidence of the form of certain *akṣaras* in the document under notice too axiomatic to require re-examination of the point. I wish he had compared the script of this inscription with the alphabet in which the Horiuzi palm-leaf manuscript of the *Uṣṇīśavijayadhāraṇī* from Japan is written, for in that case, he would not have been so over-confident. As this is the main prop of his hypothesis I might reproduce here the whole *Varṇa-mālā* given at the end of this valuable manuscript, which is believed to have been in existence during the second half of the sixth century of the Christian era, so that scholars may see if palæography goes against Dr. H. Śāstrī at all.

VARṆA-MĀLĀ GIVEN IN THE JAPANESE MS.



Let Dr. Mazumdar write the Nālandā inscription in this *Varṇa-mālā* and see for himself how far he is right. He lays great stress on

1 One gentleman of Dacca has also criticised it in the September (1931) issue of the *Modern Review*, but the tone he has adopted in his note precludes the possibility of his being taken seriously. Healthy criticism is always welcome but not the invectives, such as this gentleman has indulged in, which might satisfy one's 'spite' but will not help in the investigation of scientific truth.

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the form of the letters *n*, *bh*, *y*, *h*, and *s*. The fourth palæographic table of Bühler will show that these forms were current at the time which Dr. Śāstrī has assigned to this *praśasti*. The Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman may also be seen. Further, it is not safe to depend *exclusively* on the shape of a few *akṣaras* in order to ascertain the age of a document. Bühler, Fleet, Cunningham and other scholars recognised long ago that antique forms of letters occur in inscriptions which are decidedly late. The Madhuvan copper-plate inscription came into existence 128 years prior to Dr. Bhagavanlal's No. 15 and still showed forms, which according to Bühler and other scholars who like him hold that the epigraphic documents give a clear view of the gradual development of the Indian alphabets, should be treated as late.

In order to account for the difference that is to be seen in the forms of the *akṣaras* met with in the inscriptions which were written at one and the same time I would suggest that in the case of the Nāgarī script the *varṇa-mālā* was, in all probability, fixed some time about the 6th century (A. C.), if not earlier, and the fixed form of the *Siddha-mātṛkā* letters began to be used side by side with the *roma-lipi*. I think it was because of this fixed form that the whole *varṇa-mālā* had to be appended to the above-mentioned manuscript and it is for this reason that very little difference is discernible in the documents written in the Nāgarī *varṇa-mālā* although they belong to far distant dates. The Nāgarī *varṇa-mālā* remains practically the same even to the present day but the Gupta-*lipi* passed through various changes or developments as it went to different localities and gave rise to the several alphabets we know of. Though the Nāgarī alphabet was fixed it could not replace the Gupta or the derivative scripts. That an ancient alphabet can continue to exist side by side with the later one is still seen in the Maṇḍi State of the Punjab where the Mahājans are found writing their accounts, letters, etc., in the old Gupta-script, a fact which Cunningham noticed long ago.

As to the name of the sovereign ruler, I am to say that the late Dr. Fleet had noticed the inappropriateness of the appellation Yaśodharma and was inclined to take it as Yaśovarmadeva. Besides, *yaśas* is not a *dharma* and the designation Yaśōvarmadeva looks much more reasonable than Yaśodharmadeva and, in all probablity, was the real name of the monarch. It may be added here that such mistakes are found in the case of other names also, *e.g.*, in Puṣya-bhūti for Puṣpabhūti and Puṣpamitra for Puṣyamitra.

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In this connection I might add that the use of *liṭ* does not go against Dr. Sāstrī, for it is quite in accordance with the aphorisms of Pāṇini as interpreted by Patañjali and other commentators. Bālāditya was not present when the *praśasti* under notice was written. Taking it for granted that the *liṭ* (*śaśāsa*) indicates the *bhūta-kāla* only and that Bālāditya could not have been alive when these stanzas about him were written or when Mālāda made the benefactions mentioned in the inscription, his hypothesis will remain unshaken for this *lakāra* is allowed to be used in the case of such events also as took place only one or two days before a statement is made. Patañjali is quite lucid here. Says he while commenting on परोक्षे लिट् (III. 2. 115):

कथं जातीयकं पुनः परोक्षं नाम।
कश्चित्तावदाहुः वर्षशतवृत्तं परोक्षमिति।
अपर आहुः वर्षसहस्रवृत्तं परोक्षमिति।
अपर आहुः कुड्यकटान्तरितं परोक्षमिति।
अपर आहुः द्व्यहवृत्तं त्र्यहवृत्तं चेति॥

The *Vārtika* 'अत्यन्तापह्नवे च लिट्वक्तव्यः,' given in the *Mahābhāṣya*, the *Kāśikā* and elsewhere, as well as, the examples like 'ह्यः पपाच' (see Kaiyyaṭa on this '*bhāṣya*') will, I think, support Dr. Śāstrī.

A. K. MRITHYUNJAYAN

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, vol. x, pt. ii

H. LÜDERS.—*Das Zeichen für 70 in den Inschriften von Mathurā aus der Śaka und Kuṣana-Zeit.* (The figure for 70 in the inscriptions of Mathurā of Kushana times). Prof. Lüders maintains his own reading 70 as against the reading 40 of Prof. Rapson. He adduces fresh evidences for same from the mss. from Eastern Turkestan now in the collection of the Berlin Academy.

W. CALAND.—*A note on the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa.* It has been pointed out in this note that the five chapters of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* at the beginning of the XIIIth Book contains a double treatment of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. It has also been shown that the description given in the first three adhyāyas (XIII, 1-3) agrees in a general way with the account of the sacrifice found in the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa*, while the description given in the next two adhyāyas (XIII, 4 and 5) equally agrees with the details of the sacrifice given in the *Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra.* Arguments have been adduced to show that the author of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* was acquainted with the accounts of the sacrifice found in the *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa* as well as the *Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra.* It has been argued also that a comparison of the portions of the *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā* and the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* dealing with the Aśvamedha sacrifice points to the Brāhmaṇa portion being earlier than the Saṃhitā portion.

T. A. RAMACHANDRAN.—*An Inscribed Pillar Carving from Amarāvati.* A sculpture on the base of a mutilated octagonal pillar at Amarāvati has been described here in detail. Out of the eight sides of the pillar, only two have survived with the sculptures on them. The date of the sculpture is surmised to be about 200 B.C. The carvings on one side depict two scenes from the life of Buddha—one representing the *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa* and the other an incident associated with the river Nairañjanā. The latter scene is inferred to be a representation of either the incident "Bodhisattva washing the hempen-garment", or, "Sujātā offering food to the Bodhisattva", or, "the temptation of Bodhisattva by Māra and his daughters." The fragmentary carving on the adjoining side of the pillar seems to point to the representation of an event from Buddha's life when he lived in the city as a prince. The scene depicts, it has been

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conjectured, "a competition with the sword as to who could strike the heaviest blow."

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. xiii, pt. ii

ASHUTOSH VISWAS.—*Society and Culture in the Brāhmaṇa Period.* Some passages from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* have been collected to prove the following facts: The remnants of various animals killed in a sacrifice were partaken of by the priests and the sacrificer, and the caste system was still in a state of fluidity. It was customary for the daughters-in-law to hide themselves from the gaze of the fathers-in-law. Incest was condemnable, and a widowed sister occupied a very subordinate position in the family. The scientific significance of the rising and the setting of the sun was understood and the sea-going vessels were known.

ATUL K. Sur.—*Beginnings of Liṅga Cult in India.* According to the writer, the Liṅga worship in India is of non-Aryan origin and it was at the time of the *Ṛg.-veda* a non-Aryan cult, fused later, in the epic period, with the cult of Śiva.

K. B. PATHAK.—*On the Uṇādisūtras of Jaina Śākaṭāyana.* By a reference to the statement of the *Amoghavṛtti* it has been attempted to prove that the view that the Jaina Śākaṭāyana composed the *Uṇādisūtras* given in the Kṛdanta portion of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* and was older than Yāska and Pāṇini is erroneous.

A. N. UPADHYE—*Dr. Pathak's View on Anantavīrya's Date.* Dr. K. B. Pathak's view that Anantavīrya, the commentator of the *Parīkṣāmukha* of Māṇikyanandin wrote a commentary on the *Nyāyaviniścaya* of Akalaṅkadeva and belonged to the close of the tenth century A.C., has been opposed here on the strength of the fact that Anantavīrya who commented upon the *Nyāyaviniścaya* is different from the author of the same name who wrote a commentary on the *Parīkṣāmukha.* The first is believed to have flourished in the first quarter of the eighth century, and the second towards the close of the eleventh century.

.—*A Note on Trivikrama's Date.* Trivikrama, the Prakrit grammarian, is assigned to the latter half of the 12th century.

R. MANKAD.—*Ādibharata.* The note describes a manuscript called the *Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā* which is deposited in the Govt. Manuscripts Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

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The colophons and the introductory statement in the Ms. suggest that it contains the *Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā*, which is a commentary by Rāmānanda Yogirāja on the *Ādibhārata*. On a scrutiny of the work, however, the author of the Note comes to the conclusion that one portion of the Ms. represents the *Nāṭyasarvasva* and the other the *Dīpikā* or a commentary thereon, these portions having no apparent connection with the *Ādibhārata*.

P. K. GODE.—*A Manuscript of Saṅgītarāgakalpadruma and its probable Date.* The *Saṅgītarāgakalpadruma* of Kṛṣṇānandavedavyāsa-rāgasāgara is assigned to a period between 1750 and 1800 A.C.

.—*Rasavilāsa of Bhūdeva Śukla and its probable Date about A.D. 1550.*

.—*A commentary on the Kumārasambhava, by Haricaraṇadāsa, called Devasenā and its probable Date between 1630 and 1680 A.D.*

.—*Exact Date of Naukā of Gaṅgarāma Jaḍī* (com. on the Rasataraṅgiṇī of Bhānudatta)—*1742 A. D.*

Journal of the American Oriental Society,

Vol 51, no. 4 (December, 1931)

CLEARANCE H. HAMILTON.—*Hsüan Chuang and the Wei Shih Philosophy.* According to the writer, Hsüan Chuang "studied and lectured on Asaṅga's comprehensive treatise on the Mahāyāna before leaving China." He visited India between 629 and 645 A.D. and studied Yogaśāstra. His special interest was in the advanced phase of Mahāyānist philosophy.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.—*The Divinity of Kings.* The evolution of the idea of the divinity of kings is shown here. The king was a demi-god in the *Ṛg-veda*, an incarnation of eight gods in Manu and of five gods in the epics (where one god's incarnation theory is also found). It is not probable that the theory of the divinity of kings was borrowed from Persia.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,

vol. VI, pt. ii (October, 1931)

R. SUBBA RAO.—*The History of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga.* This instalment of the article contains an account of the early Gaṅgas from the beginning of the 6th to the end of the 7th century A.D. The account includes the reigns of eight kings, the copper-plate

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inscriptions of the time being specially laid under contribution for the history.

LANKA SUNDARAM.—*The Revenue Administrations of the Northern Sarkars (1759-1786).*

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,

vol. XVIII, pt. 1 (March, 1932)

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—*Vedic Opaśa and Kaparda.* The Indian tradition that *Opaśa* and *Kaparda* (Ṛg-veda, X, 85, 8 ; and X, 114, 3) meant types of head-dresses, specially for females, has been "borne out by archæological discoveries,.....in the remains of a prehistoric civilization in the Gangetic valley at Buxar." An accompanying plate reproduces some of the terra-cotta head-dresses excavated by the writer at Buxar. They have been kept at the Patna Museum.

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*Girdharpur Pillar Inscription.* This inscription is dated in the 28th year of Kaniṣka's era. Therefore according to the inscriptions already found, it is "a document of Huviṣka's first year.' The inscription is important, as the writer reads a certain date, traces the coin-name *purāṇa*, and the official title *Tikana* (Tikina of the Nālandā plate).

.—*Śaka-Sātavāhana Problems.* (i) According to the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, the city of the Saraganus was a lawful market at the time of the elder Saraganus 'but since it came into the possession of Sandanes, the port is much obstructed' (*Schoff's translation*). The first reference is to Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, who defeated Nahapāna and took the coast land from Bombay to Kathiawad (58 B.C.). Kuntala or Viṣamaśīla Śātakarṇi, the conqueror of the Śakas is the later Saraganus. The writer thinks that Sandanes in the *Periplus* (§ 52) refers to Sundara or Sunandana (83-84 A.D.) of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and not to Sundara (Śātakarṇi Sātavāhana) of the Purāṇas as some scholars have suggested. (ii) *Mambarus* (§ 41) corrected by some scholars as *Nambarus* does not refer to *Nahapāna* but probably to Mahendra Sātavāhana who reigned between Kuntala Śātakaraṇi (75 A.D.-83 A.D.) and Sunandana-Sundara. (iii) The writer finds corroboration in Alberuni (II, 6) for his contention that the battle of 78 A.D. was fought by the Hindus against the Śakas whom Viṣama-śila

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Vikramāditya or Vikramāditya II defeated at Karūr (Karor or Karorh, 20 miles north-east of Bhawalpur) in Gujarat. Alberuni's description of Śaka tyranny tallies with that in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*. On the strength of the tradition current at the time of Alberuni and such other data, the writer identifies the defeated Śaka king as Wema Kadphises at the end of whose reign the the Kuṣāṇa power was disrupted. (iv) This identification is further supported by a source earlier than Alberuni. This Arab translator "had before him some historical sketch in Sanskrit on the history of Sindh." According to this authority, the history of Sindh is divided into four periods viz. (a) under Bhārata dynasty ; (b) under the Sunāgh or Śiśunāga dynasty and the Persian rule ; (c) under Hāla or Sātavāhana dynasty and Kafand i.e. Kadphises and his son Ayand (Uvam) ; and (d) under Vikramāditya (Gupta).

.—*Candra-Gupta II* (*Vikramāditya*) *and his Predecessor.* By the discovery of two fragments of a lost drama named *Devī-Candragupta*, it has been possible to make the presumption that Samudra-Gupta's immediate successor was not Candra-Gupta II, but Rāma-Gupta. Four independent evidences of different dates ranging from 800 to 1000 A.D. viz. a verse from the Sanjan plate, and passages from the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara, from the *history of Rawwāl* and *Barkamāris* and from Bāṇa prove the truth of this presumption. The Gupta inscriptions do not invalidate the theory but rather support it. Choice of Candra-Gupta by Samudra-Gupta as his successor was not liked by his Councils of Ministers, but the events 'proved.....that the late Emperor was right.' Rāma-Gupta, when besieged in the Himalaya (the Doab of Jullundhar between the Beas and Jhelum) agreed to send his wife Dhruvā Devī to the Śaka-pati, *shāhā-shāhānushāhi, Rāsal*, son of Ayand, (*Uvima W'ma* or *Wema*) as demanded. Candra-Gupta however saved the kingdom and the honour of Dhruvā Devī, and utterly crushed the Śakas. The war with the Śakas is dated about 375-380 A.D. Rāma-Gupta reigned for about two years, but how he did is not known. His murder by Candra-Gupta is improbable. Candra-Gupta married Dhruvā-Devi, his brother's wife, a custom sanctioned in those days. It is further stated that the real name of Candra-Gupta was Candra, Gupta being his title. The Miharauli Iron Pillar of Delhi records an inscription which refers to him.

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.—*The Book on Political Science by Śikhara, Prime Minister of Candra-Gupta* II. The *Kāmandakīya Nīti* is inferred to have been the production of one Śikhara at the time of Candra Gupta II for the following reasons: (a) In the opening verse, Śikhara the aged Prime Minister calls the king "Deva" which was really the name of Candra-Gupta; (b) the author says he is giving *instructions to the king* and is attempting to revive the traditions of Candra-Gupta the Maurya; (c) the last verse defends Candra-Gupta for killing the Śakas by stratagem. Kāmandaka may be the family title of Śikhara, as Kauṭilya was of Viṣṇugupta.

D. C. GANGULY.—*The Paramāras of Bhinmal.*

SARAT CHANDRA ROY.—*Chota-Nāgpur, the Chūtiyās and the Bhūiyās* (being the Report of Anthropological Work in 1930-31).

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*Candra-Gupta Maurya as 'vīr Varshal'.*

JADUNATH SARKAR.—*A correct Chronology of Delhi History* 1739-1754.

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*A note on certain Sanskrit Geographical and Ethnic Terms.*

Journal of Indian History, vol. X, pt. iii (December 1913)

W. H. MORELAND.—*Pieter van den Brocke at Surat* (1620-29). Portions of the unpublished diary of Pieter van den Brocke who was an outstanding figure in the early history of the Dutch East India Company have been translated here with annotations.

SURENDRA NATH SEN.—*Half a Century of the Maratha Navy.* This portion of the continued article narrates the history of the formation of the Maratha navy at the time of Shivaji, and its activities under Kanhoji Angria (1698-1729).

KALI KINKAR DUTTA.—*Policy and Character of Mir Casim.* It has been shown that inspite of his many good qualities as a ruler, his measures for the economic improvement of the State and the introduction of military reforms, Mir Casim was not free from the vices of his age, such as cruelty and suspicion.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*The Madras Council and its Relations with Golkonda Administration under Madanna and Akkanna* (1672-1686).

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. V, pt. i
(January-March, 1932)

S. SUNDARACHAR.—*Humour in the Kumārasambhava unveiled.* The writer draws our attention to the humour in the poetry of the

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Kumārasambhava of Kalidāsa, specially, in the eighth canto where Śiva plays the rôle of a son in-law after his marriage with Pārvatī.

„ V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*A Problem of Dravidic Phonology. Tamil Medial -y-, -š- and Kannada -s-.*

R. VASUDEVA SARMA.—*The story of Nābhānediṣṭha and its Jurisprudential Bearings.* The story in the *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* and the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* runs as follows: Manu's estate was divided during his life time amongst his sons but one of them called Nābhānediṣṭha, who was then pursuing his studies in the preceptor's house, was left out. When Nābhānediṣṭha returned home, Manu requested him not to press his claim to the share and advised him to go to the sacrificial hall of the Aṅgirasas who would offer him a thousand heads of cattle as reward if he taught them verses that would help them to reach heaven. In view of this prospect of gain, Nābhānediṣṭha acquiesced in the partition already made and relinquished his share. He approached the Aṅgirasas and got the reward. While trying to have the cattle which constituted the entire property of the Aṅgirasas he was restrained by Rudra then in possession of the sacrificial ground as the *Saṃsrava homa* of the sacrifice was yet to be performed. Nābhānediṣṭha had taken all the effects of the Aṅgirasas and stood in the position of a 'universal donee' and was therefore liable to meet the donor's obligation in full. The claim of Rudra could be discharged only by the performance of the *Saṃsrava* oblation, and it had to be performed before the donee could take possession of the property given to him.

The story has the following jurisprudential bearings: an estate could be divided among the sons during their fathers' life time, each son being entitled by mere birth to share in the estate. A coparcener could reopen a partition effected during his absence. The Rudra episode shows further that a 'universal donee' was to meet all the obligations of the donor.

P. S SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.—*History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil and their Relation to the Grammatical Literature in Sanskrit.*

V. RAGHAVAN.—*The Concept of Lakṣaṇa in Bharata.* While explaining the nature of the 36 Lakṣaṇas mentioned in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the writer has discussed and criticised the different views on the subject as recorded in the works of poetics. Like Alaṅkāra Lakṣaṇa is, according to Bharata, a factor contributing to the

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beauty of Kāvya. It is a feature of Kāvya in general and not of drama in particular as many writers on dramaturgy have supposed. Two classes of Lakṣaṇas are distinguished. Some are mere terms of expression while others are actions resulting from certain Bhāvas.

S. K. GOVINDASWAMI.—*Administration of Justice in Cola Times as seen in the Periyapurāṇam.*

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN.—*The Madurai Chronicles and the Tamil Academies.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, (January, 1932)

BISHESWAR NATH RAU.—*The Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj.* It contains a list of eight successive kings who were called Gāhaḍavālas owing to their sway over Gādhipur i.e. Kanauj. The reign of these kings covered a period more than 150 years from circa 1065 A.D. to circa 1223 A.D. Details about some of the important rulers of the dynasty, e.g., Candradeva, Madanapāla, Govindacandra, Vijayacandra, Jayaccandra, have been collected in the article. These details include an account of the coins and copper-plate grants issued by those rulers.

Indian Antiquary, January, 1932

KALIPADA MITRA.—*The Gāyḍīṇṛ Festival.* In this third instalment of the article, the writer says that the belief that the sacrifice of pigs benefits the cattle and the corn in a mysterious way is confined not to India alone, but is also prevalent in some parts of Europe; and that the original victim was the human animal, pig being a later substitute.

W. H. MORELAND.—*Notes on Indian Maunds.* The data about Indian maunds given in Jāhangir's *Memoirs* are critically analyzed in this instalment.

Ibid., February, 1932

L. A. CAMMIADE.—*Ancient Soak-pits at Chetput, Madras.* This is an account of a few fragments of a pottery of urn-burial types "found over an area of 10 acres, scattered at the bottom of the clay pits at a depth of about 15 to 20 feet below the present ground level."

W. H. MORELAND.—*Notes on Indian Maunds.* The first part of

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this instalment describes Bengal and Bihar maunds, while the second part gives a summary of official maunds.

C. E. A. W. O.—*Recent Discoveries of Edicts of Aśoka.* The fact that this is the seventh site (newly discovered) within a circle of less than fifty miles in radius gives a special importance to this region (Kopbal).

Ibid., March, 1932

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—*Indian Studies No. 3. The Nāgar Brāhmaṇs and the Bengal Kāyasthas.* In this portion of the continued article, the writer maintains that the Bengal Kāyasthas were originally the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas of Gujarat, and tries to establish his theory by references to *Smṛtis*, *Kāmasūtra*, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, *Kathāsaritsāgara* and inscriptions. According to the writer, the Brāhmaṇa settlement in the easternmost part of Bengal may be traced as early as 500 A.D. (Nidhanpur Ins.). Thence, the Brāhmaṇas migrated as far as Orissa by the end of the 8th century A.D. Incidentally he states that the Kāyasthas were not Kṣatriyas originally but district officers in charge of revenue up till the twelfth century, and that the *bārabhuiñar muluk* refers to the twelve semi-independent Kāyastha chiefs of Bengal.

Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, vol. xxxviii

HARAPRASAD SASTRI.—*Ratnākara Śānti.* It contains an account of the great Buddhist scholar of the ninth century named Ratnākara Śānti who was a polymath having written on logic, Tantra and prosody.

AMULYADHAN MUKHERJI.—*Basic Principles of Bengali Metre* (First Part).

S. K. DE.—*Rāmanārāyaṇa Tarkaratna and his dramatic works.* Dr. De gives a detailed account of the literary activities of Rāmanārāyaṇa (1822-1885), one of the oldest writers of dramatic works in modern Bengali.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTTI.—*Dhanurveda.* It refers to the literature, ancient and modern, on the art of warfare in Ancient India,

HARAPRASAD SASTRI.—*Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa.* This paper recounts the various literary activities of Rāyamukuṭa who flourished during the reign of Rājā Gaṇeśa of Bengal.

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YOGESH CHANDRA RAY—*Śūnya Purāṇa.* This is a fairly comprehensive study of the well-known old work of Bengal—the *Śunya Purāṇa* of Rāmāi Paṇḍit and of the cult of Dharma.

HARAPRASAD SASTRI.—*Bāṇeśvara Vidyālaṅkāra.* It contains an account of the life of Bāṇeśvara who was one of the eleven who at the instance of Warren Hastings compiled the *Vivādārṇavasetu*, a digest of Hindu Law. This was translated into Persian and through it into English by Halhed as the *Code of Gentoo Law* (1776).

SUKUMAR SEN.—*Śrīkṛṣṇavijaya of Mālādhar Vasu.* Mr. Sen makes a study of the authorship, date, contents and language of the *Śrīkṛṣṇavijaya*, an old Bengali work dealing with the story of Kṛṣṇa.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE.—*An account of the Newspapers of Bengal* (1816-35). It gives an account of the newspapers of Bengal—principally those in Bengali (in two instalments).

AMULYADHAN MUKERJEE.—*Principles of Bengali Metres.*

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTTI.—*Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat.* This is a short descriptive subject catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat numbering about two thousand. Descriptions of some hitherto unknown manuscripts are found.—(C. C.)

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Mahāparinibbāna-sutta and Cullavagga

The Cullavagga (henceforth abbreviated as Cv.) of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* consists of two parts differing vastly in length, matter and form: the first part (chaps. I-X) being a code of disciplinary regulations, and the second (chaps. XI-XII) a history of the two councils, one of which assembled at Rājagaha directly after the Parinibbāna of Buddha, and the other at Vesālī, a century later. No link, no transition connects the two parts together. While chap. X (leaving aside the usual mnemonic summary) closes with a rule concerning the bath of the nuns, chap. XI opens abruptly with the words: "Then the venerable Mahā-Kassapa said to the Bhikkhus: 'Once I was travelling along the road from Pāvā to Kusinārā. . .". Where, when, and under what circumstances was this discourse held, who were the bhikkhus thus addressed, nobody knows. The record has no historical introduction (nidāna), thus lacking a regular feature of the Buddhist canonical texts; also, if its first word "then" (*atha*) implies that it is the sequel of something else, we have just seen that it could not be the sequel of chap. X. Here are two anomalies bound to strike the reader, and we must acknowledge that, as they now stand preserved in chaps. XI-XII, these *Acta Conciliorum* appear as a be-headed trunk, the head of which has to be sought elsewhere.

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It has been observed long ago by several scholars[1] that the events contained in Cv. XI follow chronologically those which form the subject-matter of the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta (henceforth abbreviated as MPS.), a remark from which none apparently seems to have drawn its most natural conclusion, viz., that MPS. and Cv. XI-XII were originally parts of a whole. Such an inference, reasonable in itself, is further strengthened by the fact that, besides the unbroken sequence of the events which they relate, the two sections share a peculiar character suggestive of a common origin, that is their historical, annalistic garb. Indeed, MPS. looks in the *Sutta-piṭaka* quite as strange and heterogeneous as Cv. XI-XII in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, whilst if removed from their respective surroundings and joined together, the two give a perfectly coherent "Chronicle" of the last journey of the Buddha, of his death, his obsequies, and of the first two councils.

The existence of such a work being provisionally admitted, it ensues that the present place in the Canon of those historical records must be the result of some later interference. As to their former setting, we are driven to mere conjectures; yet the sacred books of other schools may offer us some helpful analogies: for instance, the Vinaya of the Mula-Sarvāstivādins contains, under the title of *Saṃyukta-vastu* (Nanjio, No. 1121), an account of both Parinirvāṇa and Councils, which answers exactly to the kind of "Chronicle" presupposed by our hypothesis. Why should not the Theravādins have had among their sacred books an historical record of the same description?

What was then the motive which induced the Diaskeuasts to dismember that work? Many explanations to such a step might be found. Let us proffer here one which seems plausible enough. Since it extended over a long time after the death of the Tathāgata, the subject-matter of the "Chronicle" could not be styled as the Word of the Buddha (*Buddha-vacanam*); it was necessarily *extra-canonical*. Still, it preserved utterances of the Master which were not only most beautiful and pathetic, but highly important for the doctrine, and which the com-

1 E.g. Oldenberg, *Vinaya*, I, XXVI: "The tradition of the councils takes up the thread of the story where the accounts of the life and work of Buddha, given in the *Suttapiṭaka*, end". Id. *Buddhistische Studien*, in *ZDMG.*, XXII. 615 "Die Erzählung des Cullavagga, die sich genau an die des MPS., anschliesst..."

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pilers of the Canon would have been loath to discard. It was therefore perfectly natural that they should wish to introduce them into the Basket of Discourses, a thing easily achieved by setting apart the section relative to Parinibbāna and inserting it into the *Sutta-piṭaka*. As to the remnant being chiefly concerned with disciplinary questions, it occurred to them that it might be conveniently annexed to the *Vinaya-piṭaka* as a kind of Appendix or Pariśiṣṭa.

Here we are confronted with the so-called discrepancy, which Oldenberg thought that he detected between MPS. and Cv. XI, with the consequence that, in his opinion, the First Council, so fully narrated in the latter, was totally ignored by the former.

The alleged contradiction is supposed to lie in the way in which the Subhadda incident is related by both. In MPS., Mahā-Kassapa, on hearing the subversive prattle of that bad monk, confines himself to several banal remarks on Impermanence; while in Cv. XI, he reacts earnestly by proposing the convocation of a council to crush the growing heretical tendencies. This would lead the reader to infer that the two accounts could not have proceeded from the same hand.

Such a conclusion would however be founded on a misapprehension of the facts: the two accounts do not stand on the same plane. In MPS., Mahā-Kassapa and his disciples, while on their way from Pāvā to Kusinārā, hear the tidings of the Master's decease, whereupon Subhadda hails cynically the future freedom of the monks. At that moment, Mahā-Kassapa says nothing about an eventual council: very properly too, his only companions, his pupils, not having the least qualification to consider such an important scheme, much less to decide upon it. On the contrary, the Cv. introduces Mahā-Kassapa *relating* the Subhadda incident in presence of the general Saṃgha, headed by the great theras Ānanda, Anuruddha, etc. Speaking before the leading authorities of the Buddhist Church, fully competent to take any necessary measure for the maintenance of the Dhammavinaya, he seizes quite naturally the proffered opportunity to suggest the calling of a general meeting. Personally, we cannot detect in that the shadow of a discrepancy.

This fictitious difficulty being removed, it seems that nothing really withstands the working hypothesis of a later redistribution of the texts

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as stated above. We even thus get rid of several perplexing singularities, such as, for example, those connected with the question of lesser and minor precepts.

According to the tradition of the Theravādins, the First Council begins with the expounding of the Vinaya by Upāli and its rehearsal by the whole Assembly. One of the rules so recited (Pācittiya, 72) runs as follows:

> "Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when the Pātimokkha is being recited, shall speak thus: 'What comes of these lesser and minor precepts being here recited, save only that they tend to misgiving, and worry, and perplexity?', there is Pācittiya in thus throwing contempt on the precepts."

The rule is admitted without any reservation, Ānanda silently assenting. But when the said Ānanda, having in his turn taken the chair to settle the question of the wording of the Suttas, proceeds to recite the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, he quotes the following words of the Buddha (MPS., VI, 3.):

> "When I am gone, Ānanda, let the Order, if it should so wish, abolish all the lesser and minor precepts."

Now this amounts to no less than allowing the removal of those very regulations which, as it had just been recalled, it was strictly forbidden even to criticise. Nor is it all. The rehearsal of the Dhamma being completed, Ānanda goes on and says:

> "The Blessed One, Sirs, at the time of his passing away, spake thus to me: 'When I am gone, Ānanda, let the Saṃgha, if it should so wish, abolish all the lesser and minor precepts",

thus seeming to impart to the Saṃgha, as a fresh piece of news, an information which he had already given them before. In its present state the text is manifestly incoherent: our suggestion that what is now known to us as the MPS. on one hand, and the Cv. XI-XII on the other, primitively united in one work, was later on arbitrarily divided and awkwardly thrown into the *Piṭakas* without hardly any attempt at making it fit with its new setting, would account for such inconsistencies in the result.

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A closer examination of the text even brought us to the conclusion that the lost or at least the dismembered work must have been a good deal older than the recension of the Canon into which it was inserted. Anyhow what has come over to us in its present mutilated form still bears witness to a previous state of the Dhamma as well as of the language. The episode of Channa's punishment and that of Yasa's quarrel with the bhikkhus of Vesālī will serve to illustrate our point.

Before passing away, the Buddha ordered that the *brahmadaṇḍa* penalty be inflicted upon the bhikkhu Channa. Ānanda who, curiously enough, ignores what the *brahmadaṇḍa* is, asks for a definition, which is given to him. As this penalty is not mentioned anywhere, except in the two parallel passages of the MPS., VI, 4, and Cv. XI, 1, 12-15, one can hardly escape from coming to the conclusion that the rule concerning the *brahmadaṇḍa* belonged to an older stage of the Buddhist Vinaya.

The twelfth and last chapter of the Cullavagga has also given rise to manifold discussions. It is, however, practically certain that the sharp dissension which arose, a century after the Parinibbāna, between Western and Eastern monks, who advocated respectively a more or less rigid discipline, takes us back to a period when the monastic rule were not yet so strictly defined as in the existing *Vinaya-piṭaka*.

The case opens with a dispute between the thera Yasa and the bhikkhus of Vesālī about the latter's practice of accepting gold and silver from lay disciples. Such a contest is hardly conceivable in face of the rule Nissaggiya XVIII: "Whatsoever bhikkhu shall receive gold or silver.....that is a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture." Yet the bhikkhus indulging in that lax habit deem themselves justified, not only in persisting in it, but even in censuring their censor. Yasa is called upon to defend his point of view before the laymen, a thing which he does by quoting three texts: (a) a sutta of a general character, upon the four *upakkilesa*, A., II, 53; (b) a sutta—not to be found in the *Sutta-piṭaka*—in which the Buddha, speaking to Maṇicūḷaka, confirms the interdiction of receiving either gold or silver; (c) finally, the only pertinent and decisive text, viz., *Sutta-vibhaṅga* on Nissaggiya XVIII; yet, while the first two are quoted *in extenso*, the last one is merely referred to, which makes it look like a posterior addition.

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The contested point on the acceptation of gold and silver is but one of the ten indulgences claimed by the monks of Vesālī and which were condemned by the Council held in order to consider their case. It has been shown[2] that the list of the Ten Points was primitively drawn up in a Prākrit no longer perfectly understood at the time of the redaction of the Second Council, the bulk of which is still preserved in Cullavagga XII, and enlarged with some additions, such as the minutes of the session, composed evidently after the same pattern as those of the First Council.

In short, the several data gathered above entitle us to suppose that the account of the councils of Rājagaha and Vesālī once formed the latter part of a larger historical work, which, at the time of the compilation of the Tripiṭaka, was severed into two sections, the former being converted into the Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta and the latter annexed as *capitula extravagantia* to the tenth Khandhaka of the Cullavagga.

Louis Finot

2 Sylvain Lévi, *Observations sur une langue précanonique du bouddhisme*. (*JA.*, Nov.-Dec. 1912, p. 508).

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Tāranātha's History of Buddhism

(Translated from the German version of A. Schiefner)

X

EVENTS OF THE TIME OF THE VENERABLE MAHĀLOMA AND OTHERS

Soon after the time when the Venerable Mahāloma and Nandin were in charge of the teaching, king Vīrasena died and his son Nanda inherited the rulership which he carried on for 29 years. As the king had invoked the Piśāca Pīlu, his hand was filled with precious stones whenever he clutched at the sky.[1] There lived at that time in the land of Svarṇa-prastha (Gold-Droṇa),[2] the Brāhmaṇa Kuśala who gathered together all the bhikṣus of the four regions and entertained them for seven years. Thereafter, the king himself entertained the bhikṣus with food through many years in Kāśī-Vārāṇasī. At that time the learned bhikṣu Nāga began to speak highly of the five propositions (*pañcavastu*)[3] again and again and the division among the clergy became wider, giving rise to four schools. The Venerable Dharmaśreṣṭha then attained Arhathood and he left the company of quarreling clergymen with a group of very peaceful bhikṣus and betook himself to the region of the North.

One of king Nanda's companions was the Brāhmaṇa Pāṇini, who

1 The *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra*, leaf 323 mentions this invocation. Cf. *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p. 611:—

तस्याप्यनन्तरो राजा नन्दनामा भविष्यति ।

... ...

तेनापि साधितो मन्त्र पिशाचःपीलुनामतः

तस्य मन्त्रप्रभावं तु महाभोगे भविष्यति ।—Tr.

2 gSer. bre, perhaps Hemavaddroṇi, shortened to Hemadroṇi, see Böhtlingk-Roth, sv. Droṇa.

Svarṇaprastha is the name of an upadvīpa of Jambūdvīpa—Tr.

3 Evidently it refers to the well known five points of Mahādeva which brought about the division in the Buddhist Church. For the five points, see *JRAS.*, 1910, p. 416. Dutt, *Early History* etc., p. 229.

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was born in the west at Bhīrukavana. Once he asked a palmist whether he would learn all the teachings of the world and he was answered in the negative; so he made a line on the palm of his hand with a sharp knife; he approached all the teachers living at that time on the earth, and learnt everything from them. But as he was not still satisfied,[4] he invoked, through concentration (of mind),[5] his protecting deity. As the latter showed his face and uttered *a*, *i*, *u*, he acquired all the words (*syraḥi gnas=śabdapada*—Tr.) to be found in the three worlds. The heterodox people (lit. outsiders= *phyi-pa-rnams*—Tr.) maintain that the deity was Iśvara, but have no special ground therefor, while the orthodox (lit. insiders—Tr.) hold that it was Avalokiteśvara, and have for their ground the following prophecy in the *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra* (leaf 323): Brāhmaṇa's son Pāṇini will surely obtain *Śrāvakabodhi* (Tib. *ñes-par-ñan-thos-byaṅ-chub-tu*—Tr.) according to my prophecy, and invoke the majesty of the lord of the worlds through his magical charms.[6] This Pāṇini compiled the grammatical sūtra known as the *Pāṇini-Vyākaraṇa* which contained two thousand ślokas, one thousand ślokas being devoted to etymology and the other thousand to explanation. This is, as it were, the root of all grammars. Before him there was no written śāstra on etymology. As there did not exist any system which brought the facts under observation, the individual linguists who set about forming combinations of one and all separate words,[7] were reckoned as specially learned. Although it is said in Tibet that *Indravyākaraṇa* is older, it will be seen as stated below, that it pro-

4 Tib. legs. par. bslabs. śin. śes. kyaṅ. da. duṅ. ma. tshim. ste.—Tr..

5 Tib. rtse. gcig. tu.—Tr.

6 Cf. *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p. 613:

तस्य (नन्दस्य) अप्यन्यतमः सखा पानिर्नाम मानवः ॥
नियतं श्रावकत्वेन व्याकृतो मे भविष्यति ।
सोऽपि सिद्धमन्त्रस्तु लोकीशस्य महात्मनः ॥
साधयेत् प्रज्ञाकामस्तु क्रोधं हालहलं द्विजः ।

The word लोकीश in the above verse is, I think, the point of contention referred to by Tāranātha.—Tr.

7 Tib. re-re-gñis-gñis=one and all, one with another, indiscriminately. Schiefner writes: wenn jene von zwei bis zwei Verbindungen anfangend einzelnes zusammenbrachten.—Tr.

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bably existed earlier in the divine regions but not in Āryadeśa. Although paṇḍitas maintain that in Tibetan translation the *Candra-vyākaraṇa* agrees with Pāṇini and the *Kalāpavyākaraṇa* with *Indra-vyākaraṇa*, it may be stated generally that the *Pāṇinivyākaraṇa* in particular on account of its extraordinary minuteness of explanations and its full and systematic observations, is something very exceptional.[8] The tenth section, the events of the time of the Venerable Mahāloma and others.

XI.

EVENTS OF THE TIME OF KING MAHAPADMA

In the north, in the borderland Vanāyu (nags. kyi. sa) there lived a king Agnidatta who for more than thirty years supported three thousand monks with the Arhant Dharmaśreṣṭha at their head. The venerable Mahātyāga (gtoṅ-ba-chen-po=*mahādātā*) guarded the teaching in Madhyadeśa, and Mahāpadma, son of the king Nanda, maintained the whole saṅgha in Kusumapura. Bhikṣu Sthiramati, a follower of Sthavira Nāga proclaimed again the *Pañcavastu* and thereby increased the discord and the four schools began gradually to split up into eighteen. The friends of king Mahāpadma, the Brāhmaṇa Bhadra and the Brāhmaṇa Vararuci both showed great veneration to the clergy. The Brāhmaṇa Bhadra betook himself through the skill of his magical charm to different regions, and wherever he came he took away all the riches of the non-human beings (i.e. yakṣas, etc.) and served 1800 brāhmaṇas, 2000 bhikṣus, and other wandering monks and beggars, 10,000 in all, daily with all requisites. Vararuci, however, had a pair of boots of tree-leaves which he had obtained through the power of his magical charm; when he put them on, he could procure excellent things

8 The only grammatical work existing in Tibetan translation in Tanjur, see Schiefner's essay "on the logical and grammatical works in Tanjur." *Bullet. histor.-philol.*, vol. IV, 18, 19.

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from the dwelling-places of gods and nāgas and with these he satisfied many beggars. Once when he lost his friendship (mi. mdsaḥ. bar. gyur—Tr.) with the king, and the latter thinking that he might apply evil charms against himself, sent a messenger to kill him, he put on his boots and escaped to the city of Ujjaini. At length he was outwitted by the king, because, when a woman stole his boots and he could no more fly, he was killed by the hangman. To atone for the guilt of murdering a Brāhmin, the king erected 24 vihāras and established by their side fully equipped religious halls (chos. kyi. gshi—Tr.). Some say that the third collection of Buddha's teaching took place at that time, but evidently there is little possibility for it. This Vararuci wrote many explanatory works (*vibhāṣā*) and distributed them among the preachers of the Dharma. Books containing the words of Buddha existed already at the time when the Teacher lived, but this was the beginning of the explanatory śāstras put in book-form. The meaning of *vibhāṣā* is detailed explanation; in accordance with the text as delivered by the Teacher himself and the instruction imparted by him, the sense of the words has been given in it. The *vibhāṣā-śāstras* are not special śāstras, these are easier to understand than the sūtras, but they were composed later in the interest of beings living in the future. Some think that at the time of Upagupta they were composed by the Arhants in universal agreement; others maintain that this had been done by Yaśa, Sarvakāma and several others. It is evident that on account of the mixture of both these earlier opinions, the Tibetans have taken them to have been composed by Sarvakāma, Kubjita[1] and five hundred other Arhants living in Naṭa-Bhaṭika vihāra on the Vindhyā mountain in the north. Whatever that may be, it was through these Arhants that the words have been put together, and having been transmitted from ear to ear by the sthaviras, they were afterwards put in writing. According to the opinion of the Vaibhāṣikas, the seven Abhidharma sūtras should be held as Buddha's words, and the Vibhāṣā be regarded as the beginning of the explanatory sūtras. According to the view of the Sautrāntikas, the seven Abhidharma sūtras, which the

1 Sgur. po: it occurs in Kandjur, vol. XI, l. 328, and corresponds to Kujjitasobhito (=Pali: Khujja-sobhita) of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 19.

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Vaibhāṣikas look upon as being handed down from earlier times, were composed by the imperfect śrāvakas[2] and were wrongly given out as Buddha's words collected by Śāriputra and others and counted as the beginning of the explanatory śāstras. Some ācāryas assert that the seven sūtras might have been the words of Buddha himself, but the compositions of imperfect śrāvakas were interpolated into it, as was the case with the sūtras of different schools. According to this view one must look upon those parts which are not in agreement with the three pramāṇas and diverge from them as later interpolations. One may say that, as in Mahāyāna the Abhidharma forms a separate piṭaka so also it must be among the Śrāvakas; and although it is true that the contents of the Piṭakas are connected with one another, as there are separate books for the two other Piṭakas, there is no reason why it should not be the case with the Abhidharma. Although this last assumption is very proper, we have in the meantime followed the other tradition inasmuch as Ācārya Vasubandhu seems to have agreed with the opinion of the Sautrāntikas. The view that it is not the word of Buddha because so many mistakes are found, but that it was a composition of Śāriputra and others, is very stupid. If one of the ideal pair had already died before the Teacher, so, in the life-time of the Teacher there could not be any explanatory śāstra of his words. And if the teacher himself were still living, it would be too much to say that wrong exposition of the sense of his words had already appeared. Let us accept that as the commentaries were on the basis of the approved teaching of Buddha, the difference between Buddha's words and the commentaries was merely in name though the words had appeared when the Teacher himself was living, and the commentaries after he had passed away from existence. If, however, the ideal pair and others had wrongly explained the Śāstras, and all the contemporary men (who could be taken) as witnesses, had died, and if it is not reasonably possible to ascertain the persons who were contemporaries (and so be regarded as) witnesses, and if the Arhants did not know the truth (*de ñid*), then it follows that in the school of the Śrāvakas nobody could realise the

2 Tib. ñan. thos. so. so. skye. bo=śravakas who are pṛthagjanas, i.e., not yet srotāpannas. The German translation "einfachen Śrāvakas" is not accurate.

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Truth.[3] If the great Arhants, who arose through the transformation of the Teacher, were, willingly in the wrong, it was due to the demons. Shortly after the time of king Mahāpadma, there lived in the land of Oḍivisa, King Candragupta to whose house the venerable Mañjuśrī came in the shape of a bhikṣu and delivered the different Mahāyāna teachings and even left behind a book. The Sautrāntikas maintain that it was the *Prajñāpāramitā* of eight thousand ślokas but the Tantra School maintains that it was the *Tattvasaṃgraha*.[4] Whatever may be the case, I think, without wishing to contradict anything, that the first view is proper. This is the beginning of the appearance of Mahāyāna among men after the passing away of the Teacher. The eleventh section, the events at the time of king Mahāpadma.

3 As there is much ambiguity in both the Tibetan text and the German translation, a free translation has been given here—Tr.

4 In Tanjur vol. *he* occur the *Sūtras* called the *Tattvasaṅgrahakārikā* by Śāntigupta and *Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā* by Kamalaśri.

Recently both the text (Karika) and its commentary (Pañjikā) have been published in the Gœkwad Oriental Series. The opinion of the Tantra School is evidently wrong—Tr.

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Interpolations in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa

The unity of composition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* has attracted the notice of scholars. Dr. Winternitz[1] and Mr. C. V. Vaidya[2] have observed that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* appears on the whole to have been the work of one hand. Indeed, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is possibly the only other Purāṇic work which can claim this distinction. This unity of composition, however, does not exclude the possibility of interpolations having crept in. As a matter of fact, the *Padma Purāṇa* mentions the *Bhāgavata* to have been a work of 332 chapters, while Śrīdhara has commented on 335. The *Śabdakalpadruma*, possibly following the *Padma Purāṇa* account, also assigns 332 chapters to the work. An attempt is made here to identify the three interpolated chapters.[3]

Chapter 3, Bk. 1 and Chapter 7, Bk. II, of the *Bhāgavata*, give two different accounts of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu, while, Chapter 8, Bk. VI, in describing how the Avatāras are to be meditated on, names them somewhat differently and in a different order, from either of these two accounts. Why the number of Avatāras, their names, and their order of succession should vary, if all the three chapters were the work of one author, cannot be understood. There is a summary of the substance of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, book by book, in the *Nāradīya Purāṇa*[4]. It does not deal with each chapter of a book; it simply mentions the important topics of each book. This summary assigns an account of the līlāvatāras to the second book only. There is no reason why the other two accounts should have gone unnoticed if they were in the work when the *Nāradīya Purāṇa* summary was written.

We may take it, therefore, that the account of 24 Avatāras in II.7 was in the *Bhāgavata* when it was composed. Let us see if we can find

1 *History of Indian Literature*, vol. 1 (English Translation), p. 556.

2 Vide paper on 'The Date of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa' in *JBRAS.*, vol. 1, 1925.

3 I have used the edition of the *Bhāgavata*, in Bengali characters, published by the Baṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta.

4 Chapter 96, 4th pāda, Pūrvabhāga of the *Bṛhadupākhyāna*, quoted in the Supplement to the "*Śabdakalpadruma*", sv. 'purāṇam'.

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any reason for the interpolation of the two other accounts. The number of Avatāras in I.3, is 21, and in VI. 8, 23, as far as I could make out, and these two chapters appear to have been put in at different times by different persons. One reason for the variations in the accounts must have been the unwillingness of the two later writers to accept in full the account given by the author in II.7; while the writer of VI. 8 appears, in his turn, to have found it necessary to improve upon the earlier interpolation in I.3. But the main reason for the variations appears to me to have been the following one. In II.7, Rāmakṛṣṇa is described as one Avatāra, and is apparently held to be a *Kalā* or part of Viṣṇu, though Śrīdhara explains the word "Kalayā" to mean "with Balarāma." This interpretation cannot be accepted as the two are already distinctly mentioned in the word 'Sitakṛṣṇakeśaḥ." The interpretation is due to the fact that before Śrīdhara's time Kṛṣṇa had come to be looked upon as the Supreme God. But Kṛṣṇa is described as aṃśa of Viṣṇu or the Virāṭ Puruṣa in numerous passages of the *Bhāgavata*.[5] This is in harmony with the *Mahābhārata* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* accounts of Kṛṣṇa. In some of the *Bhāgavata* passages, the word 'aṃśa or 'aṃśena' might be strained to mean 'Balarāma' or 'with Balarāma', but such interpretation is impossible in some cases, e.g. in the following passages:—

"diṣṭyāmba te kukṣigataḥ paraḥ pumān aṃśena sākṣād Bhagavān bhavāya naḥ." X. 2.41.

"manye Nārāyaṇasyāṃśaṃ Kṛṣṇamakliṣṭakāriṇam." X. 26.23.

In course of time Kṛṣṇa came to be held in higher esteem than the other Avatāras, and it was found necessary to make the *Bhāgavata* an authority for this distinction. We accordingly find the first line of verse 28, chapter 3, Bk. I, marking out Kṛṣṇa from the rest of the Avatāras thus:—

"ete cāṃśakalāḥ puṃsaḥ Kṛṣṇas tu Bhagavān svayam."

5 Vide X 1.25, X. 2.18, X. 10.35, X. 33.26, X. 88.46, 1.7.2., IV. 1.58., X. 70.28.

There is no reason why, if by the word 'aṃśena' the author meant 'Rāmeṇa' he should not have avoided ambiguity by using the latter word. In some of the

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But even this evidently failed to satisfy the writer of VI. 8, who takes Kṛṣṇa out of the list of Avatāras leaving Rāma in the place of Rāma-kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa henceforward coming to be regarded as the Supreme God. It would appear that the original *Bhāgavata* contained no description of the Nārāyaṇa-Kavaca, and the interpolator, under the pretext of supplying an apparent omission, gave his own version of Avatāras, and completed the task of isolating Śrī Kṛṣṇa begun by the interpolator of I.3[6], and so I.3 and VI. 8 appear to me to be clear interpolations.[7]

It is very easy to identify the third interpolated chapter. It is XII. 1, being the account of future dynasties. The *Nāradīya Purāṇa* summary of Bk. IX mentions accounts of past dynasties, but the summary of Book XII does not refer to any account of future dynasties; it begins by referring to 'bhaviṣya kalinirdeśaḥ' as the first important thing described in that book, and we know that the description of Kali begins from the second chapter. Besides, this account of future dynasties appears to have been the work of quite a simpleton, who was certainly not the great author of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.[8]

The chapter starts with the question of Parikṣit, "Who ruled after Śrī Kṛṣṇa had departed from the world?". The question is stupid enough, for Parīkṣit has just been told that Vajra was installed on the throne of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, while Parikṣit knows that he himself has succeeded Yudhiṣṭhira to the Emperorship of India. But the answer of Śuka is no less stupid for in answer to a question about the past he sets about

hymns of the *Bhāgavata* Kṛṣṇa is called the Supreme God and so on, but such expressions are merely laudatory (arthavāda); one speaks of his guru in such terms even today.

6 In X. 40 it will be found that no distinction is made between Kṛṣṇa and some of the other Avatāras.

7 The last verse of I.2 has evidently been interpolated with a view to introduce the next chapter.

8 Attention might be drawn to the similarity of the verses introducing Bk. V of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, and Bk, X of the *Bhāgavata*. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* begins the Kṛṣṇa stories after having done with past and future dynasties in Bk. IV. The author of the *Bhāgavata* had the opportunity of narrating future dynasties in Bk. IX along with past dynasties, but that appears to have been deliberately passed over.

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immediately narrating future dynasties.[9] The narration begins with unaccountable abruptness. There is nothing with which the account could be connected. It appears that something is left unsaid which should have been said. Any careful reader must observe that this account has been abridged from a fuller account or account in one or more Purāṇas, and, in doing so, the writer is guilty of omissions and also of upsetting the order of narration. The reader is requested to compare it with the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* account.

To this carelessness is due the text corruption in the line

"anugaṅgam āprayāgaṃ guptāṃ bhokṣyati medinīm"

for

"anugaṅgamāprayāgaṃ Guptā bhokṣyanti medinīm."

The mistake was the result of tearing off the line from its context and tagging it on to something else. This and similar mistakes could not have been the work of a scribe who would have disturbed the versification in omitting things. The whole chapter is the inartistic work of an interpolator who thought that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* must have an account of future dynasties. He lived after the Turkish invasion of India which fact accounts for the substitution of the word 'Turaṣkakāḥ for 'Tuṣārāḥ' or 'Tukhārāḥ' as found in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* account. In a separate essay I shall prove that the *Bhāgavata* was a much earlier work than is usually supposed and that it was composed about the middle of the sixth century.

I leave the task of tracing interpolations of stray verses to younger persons capable of putting in harder work. Besides I have not before me the manuscript and printed materials necessary for the execution of this task.

AMARNATH RAY

9 Some editions of the *Bhāgavata* omit the question evidently to avoid the inconsistency between the question and the answer.

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Dr. Shamashastry very recently remarked that by the Aśvins the Vedic poets meant no other celestial bodies than the Sun and the Moon (*Mythic Society's Quarterly Journal*, Bangalore, vol. XX, no. 2, pp. 80-88).

The well-known polar phenomena, with which it is possible to identify the Dual Deities, the Aśvinau, is known in astronomy by the terms: The Zodiacal Light and the Gegenschein—a twin phenomenon observed only in the Polar Regions.

Before proceeding to the Vedic texts let us see what the two astronomical phenomena actually denote:—

The Zodiacal Light

The Zodiacal Light "is a soft hazy wedge of light stretching up from the horizon along the ecliptic just as the twilight is ending (in the evening) or as the dawn is beginning (at night departure). Its base is 20° to 30° wide and it generally can be followed under favourable conditions to 90° from the Sun and sometimes in a narrow faint band 3° to 4° wide entirely around the sky. It is very difficult to decide precisely what its limits are, for it shades very gradually from an illumination perhaps a little brighter than the milky way into the dark sky. It cannot be seen in full moon-light."

The Gegenschein (counter-glow)

The Gegenschein "is a very faint patch of light on the ecliptic precisely opposite to the Sun. It appears like an enlargement of the Zodiacal band at this point. It is oval in shape being longest along the ecliptic and according to Barnard and Douglas generally 10° to 20° long and half as wide.

"Both the Zodiacal light and the Gegenschein can be seen only with the unaided eye; for the field of the telescope is so small that it does not enable one to contrast them with the darker sky." (Moulton: *Introduction to Astronomy*, 1906, pp. 312-313).

The legends about the Aśvins

Both the storm theory and the vernal theory fail to account satisfactorily for the different features of the legends about Aśvins.

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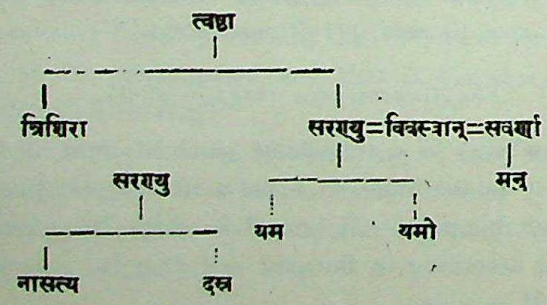
Such legends are to be found amongst the achievments of the Aśvins, the physicians of the gods. (See *Rv.*, I, 112, 116, 117, 118).

The legends about Aśvins indicate or suggest the Arctic conditions of climate or calendar as they are one of the deities who are said to traverse or measure the whole universe like Viṣṇu, Agni and Savitar. Each has three stations, *viz.*, one in ocean (*samudra*) one in heaven (*divi*) and one in waters (*apsu*). "The third step of Viṣṇu and the third or the hidden abode of Agni are identical in character. Similarly one of the three wheels of the chariot of Aśvins is represented as deposited in a cave of a secret place, like the third step of Viṣṇu which is beyond the ken of mortals (Vide *Rv.*, X, 85.14, 15,.16).

This coincidence between the third stations of the three world-traversing gods cannot be said to be accidental. The combined effect of all the passages regarding this coincidence will be clearly seen to point to the conclusion that the third or hidden dwelling place in each case must be sought for in the nether world, the world of the *Pitṛs*, of *Yama*, of waters and darkness." (Tilak—*Arctic Home in the Vedas*, pp.332-334).

The genealogy of the Aśvins



Note that

(i) त्रिशिरा and सरण्यु
(ii) यम and यमी
(iii) नासत्य and दस्र

} are all twins

From the genealogy given above it is clear that their father is Vivasvān and their mother is Saraṇyu in the form of a mare or the Sindhu. As ushering in the healthful light of the sun, they are healers and physicians and their power of restoring the aged to youth reappears in Sūryā, the daughter of the sun.

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The sphere of the Aśvins

Yāska says that their sphere is heaven. Vedic scholars also agree that the Aśvins belong to the celestial class of the Vedic gods:

(1) They appear at early dawn when darkness still stands among the ruddy cows (*Ṛv.*, X, 61-4).

(2) At the yoking of their car *Uṣas* is born (*Ṛv.*, X, 39. 12). (*Ṛv.*, I. 34.10).

(4) Thus the appearance of the Aśvins, the kindling of the sacrificial fire, the break of dawn are synchronous with the first appearance of the sun's rays or more correctly the appearance of the light on the earth reflected from an immense number of meteors circulating around the sun in or near the ecliptic and extending out somewhat beyond the orbit of the earth. Such meteors are more numerous precisely opposite to the sun and they cause the correlative and complementary phenomena of the reflection, both thus giving rise to the elaborate celestial phenomena connoted by the Vedic Deities, the Aśvinau. (*Ṛv.*, I, 157. 1 and VII, 72.4).

The car of the Aśvins

The three-wheeled car of the Aśvins is mentioned in the *Ṛg-veda* as drawn by Horses (I, 117.2); Birds (VI, 63.6; X, 143-5); Bird-steeds (IV, 63.7); Swans (IV, 54.4); Eagles (I, 118-4); Eagle-steeds (VIII, 5.7); Buffalo or Buffaloes (V, 53.7; I, 184.3); Ass (I, 34.9; I, 116.2; VIII, 74.7); and Asses (*A.Br.*, IV, 7-9). The names of birds and animals must be supposed to be the names given to the groups of stars near, or in the midst of, which the triangular car of the Aśvins made its first appearance in the several epochs of the ancient ages. *Ṛv.*, I, 46.7 says that the Aśvins possess not only a golden chariot but have a double equipment in the boat. The Aśvins are described in the *Ṛg-veda* as saving their protégés in boats (*Ṛv.*, I, 116.3 I, 182.6). "The boats of Aśvins unlike those of Pūṣan are not described as golden." In *Ṛv.*, I, 30-18 their chariot is said to be *Samāna yojana* or traversing without distinction both the heavenly and watery regions.

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At the end of the night, their triangular wedge-like chariot comes up from the ocean (*samudra*). Their chariot makes a great circling round the heaven (*Ṛv.*, I, 157.3, 5). They are described as going round the heaven (*parijman*) like the deities Vāta, Agni and Sūrya. Their car traverses the heaven and the earth in a single day or 24 hours' period as that of the sun, and that of Uṣas (*Ṛv.*, III. 58.8; I, 115.3 and IV, 51.5 respectively). "They came riding on fleet horses and soon vanished followed by the first faint blushes of the Dawn who changed her dark complexion into bright (*Ṛv.*, I, 123.9) and soon became full blown or refulgent like a beautiful heavenly maiden in the glory of her eternal youth." (A. C. Das, *Ṛg Vedic Culture*, p. 454).

The home of the Aśvins

The home of the Aśvins is variously described in the *Ṛg-veda*. They came from afar (VIII, 5-30); heaven (VIII, 8.7); and earth (I, 44.5); heaven and air (VIII, 8.4; 9.2); air (VIII, 8.3); air far and near (V, 73.1); earth, heaven and ocean (VIII, 10.1); behind, before, below and above (VII, 72.5). Sometimes their locality is inquired about (V, 74.2, 3; VI, 63.1; VIII, 62.4) as if unknown. (See Macdonnell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 50). The above details about the home of the Aśvins agree with those of Zodiacal light and the correlative phenomena of Gegenschein (counter-glow) particularly in the polar and the circum-polar regions.

The path of the Aśvins

About the course of the Aśvins, which is frequently mentioned in the Vedas, we find that the course of their rays is vertical and the word *vartiḥ* with one exception is applicable to them only.

The path of the Aśvins is the *Devayāna* or the portion of the Zodiacal belt visible in the Polar regions. The remainder is called the *Pitṛyāna*. Varuṇa is said to have constructed a broad path (*Ṛv.*, I, 24.8; IV, 53.4) for the sun. It evidently refers to the Zodiacal belt. The path of Ṛta (*Ṛv.*, I, 41.4) which is mentioned several times in the *Ṛg-Veda* where the Ādityas are said to have been placed (*Ṛv.*, X, 85.1) and wherein Saramā discovered the cows of Indra (*Ṛv.*, V, 45.7, 8) refers to the same broad belt of the Zodiac which the luminaries, as observed

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by the Vedic bards, never transgress. Thus *ṛtasya panthā* means the right path, the circle of which exists for ever or rather exists (*vartvarti*) in the vault of the heavens (Ṛv., I, 164.11)." (Vide Tilak's *Orion or the Researches into the Antiquity* of the Vedas, p. 185).

Their time of appearance

In *Ṛv.*, X, 39.12 it is stated that at the yoking of their car by the Aśvins, Uṣas is born. Thus their time may be taken to be between dawn and the actual appearance of the sun's disc above the horizon. It has been stated above that just next to the Aśvins appear the dawns. Their connection with the dawn and their appearance in the interval between dawn and sun-rise are thus taken to be clearly established; and whatever theory we may adopt to explain the character of the Aśvins on a physical basis, we cannot lose sight of the fact that they are matutinal deities bringing on the dawn or the light of the morning with them. The two epithets of Indra, viz., Vṛtrahan and Śatakratu are applied to them (*Ṛv.*, VIII, 8.22; I, 112.23) and in I, 182.2, they are expressly said to possess the qualities of Indra (*Indratamā*) and of the Maruts (*Marutamā*) the associates of Indra in his struggle with Vṛtra (Vide Tilak's *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, p. 300). "It is," says the same authority, "the struggle between the powers of light and darkness and the Aśvins in their character of divine physicians were naturally the first to help the gods in their afflictions. It is true that Indra was the principal actor or hero in the fight, but the Aśvins appear to have stood by him rendering help whenever necessary, and leading the van in the march of the matutinal deities after the conquest.....The arctic theory alone can satisfactorily interpret the facts stated above; and when they are interpreted in this way, it is easy to perceive how the Aśvins are described as having rejuvenated, cured or rescued a number of decripit, blind and lame or distressed protégés of theirs in the various legends ascribed to them" (*ibid.*, p. 301). We have stated above that the ancient Vedic bards divided the period between the yoking of horses to their car by the Aśvins and the actual appearance of the solar disc into five divisions or five separate phenomena viz., (i) Aśvinau, a dual phenomenon, (ii) Dawns (*Uṣas*), (iii) Sūryā, (iv) Vṛṣākapāyi, (v) Saraṇyu, and (vi) Savītā, the solar orb. This five-fold phenomenon of

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the total duration of the twilight either before the appearance of the solar orb on the horizon of the polar regions or the sun's disappearance below the same must have extended from 47 days to about two months in the polar regions. With our present knowledge of the atmospheric and meteorological conditions in ancient Vedic times we cannot precisely determine the exact duration of the appearance of one or other of the Aśvins as distinguished from the first *Uṣas* or the Dawn. But to our mind the duration must have been about ten days in the maximum. A verse from *Ṛv.* gives us an exactly similar view (vide *Ṛv.*, 1, 157.4).

That "the Aśvinau cannot be identified with the Sun and the Moon" is already shown above by direct evidence from the several verses of the *Ṛg-veda*. An additional and very clear support to this view is found in *Ṛv.*, 1, 112-12 where it is said that they (Aśvinau) urged to victory the car without the horse (Aśva i.e. the Sun); while in the next verse it is stated that they in their car are said to go round the Sun in the distant region.

A second very important piece of evidence showing that the Aśvinau and the dawn are not the evanescent phenomena of the tropics in the *Ṛg-veda*, is furnished by the time taken to recite the *Āśvina Śastra* by the *Hotṛ* priest before commencing the *Gavāmayana* sacrifice. "It is not to be recited until darkness of the night is relieved by light; so between the first appearance of light and the rising of the sun, there must have been, in ancient days, time enough to recite the long laudatory song of not less than a thousand verses. If the recitation ended long before sun-rise, the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* has added that all the ten maṇḍalas of the *Ṛg-veda* may be recited, if necessary. (Vide Tilak's *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, pp. 82-84).

We do not propose to enter here into the question about the long duration of the Vedic Dawn but it is sufficient for our purpose to state that the Vedic Dawn admitted of a five-fold division in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* and of a three-fold one in the *Ṛg-veda* thus giving us a clear latitude to infer that the twin phenomenon of the Aśvins must have occupied a sufficiently long period of time and impressed the minds of Vedic *Ṛsis* with its grandeur and divine inspiration.

V. H. Vader

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The Nature of the Mughal Conquest

The Mughal conquest of India is a unique episode in Indian history—unique in the sense that it was not merely a physical conquest, but also a conquest of the heart. While driving the people to a stubborn resistance, it eventually evoked the greatest loyalty from them. The power of the sword which characterized the first phases of the conquest gave place to the more enduring triumphs of diplomacy and winning of the heart. In fact these characteristics mark at once the weakness and strength of the Mughal conquest. Its weakness was due to the military character, and its strength to the winning of the heart and cordial co-operation of the conquered. Nevertheless, it strikes a new note in the history of Muhammadan conquest of India. That such was the imperative need of the situation in which the Mughals found themselves in India, there is no doubt; for in history, as in other human sciences, no phenomenon could be adequately explained without reference to its environment. The situation was not an easy one and for that matter was the most perplexing that ever confronted a conqueror of India.

To understand the situation it is not necessary to give a detailed survey of the political condition of India on the eve of Babar's invasion, for the simple reason that the conditions obtaining at that time did not determine the nature of the Mughal conquest of India. The Mughal conquest of India is a long process, and Babar's invasion was one of its many important events. He is certainly not "an empire-builder of the sixteenth century," if thereby we understand that he was the builder of the Mughal empire in India. He was one of the many, who "must be considered to have laid the foundations of the Mughal Empire,"[1] and that "as a conqueror and not as an administrator." Such conquerors there have been many, viz., Amir Taimur in 1398, Humayun in 1555, and Akbar in 1556. Before these conquerors there was a host of invaders, belonging to the same race raiding Hindustan right from the middle of the 13th century, and paving the way for the

1 *An Empire-builder of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 103.

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more illustrious conquerors. Thus a survey of the situation would mean a description of the political condition of India obtaining from century to century, between the 13th and the 16th centuries, or at least between 1398 and 1556, if we want to exclude the raiders from our account. But it has been customary to consider the Mughal conquest of India to have started with the conquest of Babar, and that is because he was the first of the Mughals to attempt the systematic conquest of Hindustan by remaining in Hindustan, which his predecessors did not. So did Humayun and Akbar, the latter being the most illustrious as he was the real conqueror of Hindustan and founder of the Mughal empire in India. A proper understanding of the situation would mean a scrutiny of the political condtions obtaining in Hindustan in the whole of the 16th century. The scope of this essay forbids a detailed study of the situation and we have to remain content with scanning its chief features.

In the first place, the Hindus, that is, the Rajputs were not the only ruling power in Hindustan in the sixteenth century, as in previous centuries when Mahmud Ghaznavi, Muhammad Ghori and Qutbuddin Aibak started their conquests. Had it been so, the Mughal conquest and rule of Hindustan would have lost some of its most distinctive marks, and perhaps the conquest of the country would have been much easier. For, their superiority in military skill and organization would have received an impetus from their religious zeal, and it would have appealed to them as a holy war against the infidels. But as it was, the Mughals met not the infidels alone in the field, but the Muslims like themselves. In fact, they had to fight out issues with the Muslims first and Hindus later. This fact alone was calculated to affect adversely the vigour of the Mughal invasion, for the obvious reason that an unprovoked attack of a Muslim king upon another is against the injunctions of the *Quran*, and Babar's was an unprovoked attack actuated purely by motives of conquest. Whether it did so affect or not, it certainly did not facilitate the task.

The second feature of the situation was that supremacy in Hindustan had been divided between the Rajputs and the Afghans, and they were the two rival powers. They had built up power by great tact and steadiness, and their glory filled the whole of the 15th century. As a result of their long tenure of power, they were firmly rooted in the

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soil. To sway the sceptre of Hindustan, the Mughals had to wrest it from the Afghans and the Rajputs, one after another, and they were no mean enemies. The Afghans were as brave as they were wily, and having won power, were not prepared to part with it easily, and many a field had to be won and lost before they submitted to the Mughals. Theirs was the most stubborn, and at the same time sustained resistance offered to the Mughals. But if the Afghan was brave and wily, the Rajput was the bravest of the brave and generous to a fault. His generosity commended itself to the Mughal as his bravery inspired awe. A combination of the two powers—the Afghan and the Rajput would have been fatal to the Mughals; but that was never to be. The Afghans and the Rajputs could not unite against their common enemy. Neither could each, as a people, present a united front against the foreign foe. Their tribal organization, and their separatist tendencies gave a handle to the Mughals to conquer them piece-meal. Even so, they did not venture to join issues with the Afghans and Rajputs at once. They had enough of tact to take advantage of the Rajputs' generosity after they had impressed the Rajputs by their mettle, and to win them over to their side. They made Rajputs their friends and supporters in their task of conquering the Afghans. The credit is entirely theirs—of those who finding Hindustan under the sway of two powerful peoples, drew one of them to their side in order that they might subjugate the other, and it is here that the real greatness of the Mughals lies. Though meeting with a situation far more perplexing than any that had confronted Mahmud Ghaznavi, Muhammad Ghori or Qutbuddin Aibak, they succeeded in handilng it admirably, and left a name that is at once good and great; and it was perplexing because (i) the Mughals had not merely to prove the validity of their attack on the Afghans who happened to be Muslims like themselves, (ii) they had also to destroy the political power of the Afghans and Rajputs in order that they might rear their own.

These features, therefore, the presence of a strong Rajput confederacy side by side with a disintegrating Muslim power, and, the resistance offered by the one, and willing co-operation offered by the other after the first repercussions of their impact with the Mughals had died away —these characterise the century that made the Mughal conquest of

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Hindustan an accomplished fact as between Babar and Akbar. But if the Mughal conquest of Hindustan was completed in the 16th century, all the pioneer work had been accomplished in the 13th and 14th centuries, that is, between the invasions of Hulaku Khan and Amir Taimur. The far-reaching effects that these invasions produced on the Sultanate of Delhi—on the home and foreign policy of a series of illustrious monarchs like Balban, Alauddin Khilji, Muhammad bin Tughlak etc. amply testify to the formidable nature of the Mughal menace constantly present beyond the north-western frontier. So long as the Delhi Sultans were strong enough to repel the attack of the Mughals, they remained the lords of Hindustan, but when Taimur attacked and carried everything before him, the Delhi empire ceased to exist. A large province of the Empire—the Punjab, was annexed by Taimur, and the rest fast disintegrated, giving rise to independent monarchies throughout the country. It was a rare piece of good-luck that no Mughal invasion occurred in the 15th century, and the independent monarchies found time to get strong and stable. In spite of the iternecine wars that filled this century, there was promise of a glorious future, when Babar started his first invasion of the Punjab in 1519. Elements of life and art that were slowly taking shape received a rude shock when the country was thrown into a welter of anarchy as a result of Babar's invasions culminating in the battles of Panipat and Kunwa. The decisive nature of these two battles distinguished Babar's achievements from those of his predecessors and encouraged him to stay in Hindustan and lay the foundation of the Mughal Empire there. It is only in this sense that his invasion of Hindustan is more than an episode in the Mughal conquest of India. What he started was completed by Akbar but not before the kingdom had once been lost to and recovered from the Afghans. The revival of the Afghan power, therefore, points at once to the die-hard nature of the Afghans and the political sagacity of the Mughals.

Now confining our attention to the 16th century that witnessed the completion of the Mughal conquest of Hindustan, we are brought face to face with this striking fact that the political sagacity of the Mughals was as great a factor in the success of their conquest as their military ability. That is noticed at the very commencement of their conquests. Babar does not start abruptly like Muhammad Ghori, when he, like

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the latter sets his heart to the possession of the Punjab. Neither is he dictatorial like Amir Taimur. He shapes his conduct with the punctilious care of a gentleman and proves the validity of his action, i.e. the conquest of the Punjab, to a nicety. He says "as it was always in my heart to possess Hindustan, and as these several countries had once been held by the Turks, I pictured them as my own, and was resolved to get them into my own hands, whether peacefully or by force. For these reasons it being imperative to treat the hill-men well, this order was given: 'Do no hurt or harm to the flocks and herds of the people, nor even to their cotton-ends and broken needles.'"[2] Then in his message to the people of Bhīra he says: "The possession of this country by a Turk has come down from of old; beware not to bring ruin on its people by giving way to fear and anxiety; our eye is on this land and on this people; raid and rapine shall not be."[3] Then he sends a messenger by name Mulla Murshid to the court of Delhi to seek by peace the surrender of the districts of the Punjab he had overrun. That is the account of his first expedition into Hindustan undertaken in February 1519. He resorts to diplomacy rather than to force to achieve his object. Whether he had the scruples of conscience to satisfy when he was deliberately making an unprovoked attack on the kingdom of a Muslim king, it is very difficult to prove, but certain it is that he did try to prove the validity of his action to the people whom he came to conquer, by trying to impress on Ibrahim Lodi by peaceful negotiation that he claimed the countries by the right of conquest by the Turks and by the right of descent from Amir Taimur. It was the only justification of his aggrandizing activities, the only screen for his lust of conquest. And once it was established that he had a right to conquer the lost Indian provinces of his ancestor Taimur in the same way as he had a right to recover the lost Central Asian dominions, he felt no hesitation in setting aside the claims of everyone except himself to the possession of the Punjab, and to that end, even crossing swords with Ibrahim Lodi. This he did on the field of Panipat (1526), and Panipat secured his

2 *Babar's Memoirs* translated by A. S. Beveridge p. 380.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 381.

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claim not only to the Punjab but to the throne of Delhi, which meant the sovereignty of Hindustan.

But the sovereignty of Hindustan as secured on the field of Panipat was of a precarious nature. It greatly enhanced the prestige of Babar no doubt, but yet he had to do much hard fighting and prove his mettle before that sovereignty was his in the real sense of the word. There were powerful enemies around viz. the tribal military aristocracy of the Afghans, the powerful confederacy of the Rajputs under Rānā Saṅgrāma Singh. For, the fall of Ibrahim Lodi on the field of Panipat did not bring about the downfall of the Afghan power; and however superficially or substantially it might have affected the tenure and strength of Afghan power, it did not touch the fringe of Rajput confederacy. And for aught we know of the power and prestige of the Rajputs under Rāṇā Saṅga—his vast territories, his exalted reputation as a warrior, his diplomatic triumphs in Malwa, and his aspiration for dividing the empire of Ibrahim between himself and Babar, it will be no travesty of truth to say that Panipat could not carry Babar far in the process of empire-building in Hindustan. That was exactly what happened just before the battel of Kunwa. His dream of empire receded far into the shadows of despair, and he was disillusioned about the reality of his achievements so far. Thus there was plenty of strenuous fighting and exertion to be gone through before the empire of Hindustan became his. The Afghan military chiefs had to be crushed singly as well collectively, and the Rajput meance had to be removed for good before he could hold a firm sway over Hindustan.

The magnitude of Babar's task could be properly realised when we say that it actually began with Panipat. Panipat set his foot on the path of empire-building, and in this path the first great obstacle was the opposition of the Afghan tribes. It has been said before that the fall of Ibrahim Lodi did not mean the collapse of Afghan power. That was due to the fundamental nature of Afghan polity. It was not a centralized government, with authority concentrated in the hands of the king. There was no person or organisation to embody the supreme power of the society. The state was a loosely knit confederacy of a number of military chieftains, representing the various sections or clans of the Afghans. Each one of them regarded himself supreme in his

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domains or *jāgirs*, and conducted himself as such throughout his tenure of power. Whomsoever they elected to obey became their king, and this obedience or allegiance was tendered during the period of good behaviour of the person chosen as king. Thus authority had been diffused amongst the local magnates, and they formed, more or less, a powerful class, amongst whom the whole Empire had been distributed and who by virtue of their territorial possession controlled the allegiance of the community. This alienation of power and territory was due as much to the tribal traditions of the Afghans as to the peculiar nature of the Afghan conquest of Hindustan at the time of Bahlol Lodi. At any rate, the king was regarded by the Afghan nobles as the first among them, who was their equal to all practical purposes except that he received the voluntary allegiance of all the rest, and hence was their superior. He entirely depended upon his military aristocracy for power and prestige as much as for the defence of his kingdom, and could not have retained any, the moment he lost their sympathy. Hence, when Babar entered Hindustan as the destroyer of Ibrahim Lodi, the Afghan power had not been destroyed. Victory over the king was not victory over the kingdom. Since power and territory belonged to the Afghan nobles, the subjugation of the Afghan Empire involved the wresting of power and territory from them. Panipat had its own effects no doubt. It brought enormous gains to Babar; and his moral gains were even greater than the military and the material. Nevertheless, Panipat inaugurated an era of conquest, which was begun by Babar and was closed by his grandson Akbar. The first phase of this era (1526-30) was spent in the subjugation of the Afghan nobles and the Rajput confederacy under Rāṇā Saṅga. The second phase opened with the rule of Humayun, and the main interest centred round his abortive attempts at the subjugation of Malwa, Gujrat, and Bengal, and his expulsion from India by Sher Shah, whose rise meant the revival of Afghan power. The third and last phase begins with Humayun's re-conquest of the Punjab and Delhi, and ends with the brilliant achievements of Akbar in the domains of conquest and diplomacy, in drawing in cordial co-operation the Rajputs on to his side, and thereby facilitating his task of counquest and consolidation. Thus the process of Mughal conquest extends nearly over the whole of the 16th century.

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Now as to the first phase: The tribal organization of the Afghans and the divisions of power and territory amongst these chiefs made the task of Empire-building doubly difficult for Babar. After killing Ibrahim, Babar could occupy only the whole of the Doab. North, South, and East of it, the whole country had been parcelled out between the Lohanis, Formulis, and Sarwanis, and they had elected one of them Darya Khan Lohani's son Bahar Khan as their king. The next thing to which Babar set himself was (i) to crush Bahar Khan with all his following, and (ii) all those nobles, who did not join Bahar Khan. This he did by a clever device. He distributed the unconquered parts of the Afghan Empire amongst his nobles and commissioned them to go and establish themselves by driving out the Afghan nobles from those parts. With limited resources he could not afford to waste them in the subjugation of the nobles, specially when he had yet to meet Rāṇā Saṅgrām Singh. He never minimised the power of this great adversary; nor was he inclined to think that the Rāṇā would keep aloof and leave him undisturbed to pursue his own ambition. That is why he had sent Humayun against Bahar Khan, and the nobles against other Afghan chiefs; and himself remained at Agra strengthening himeslf for further efforts and organizing his resources. Hardly had the task of subduing the Afghan cihefs been completed, when he heard that the Rāṇā was on the move. Babar was going to meet his equal, and on the field of Kunwa, the first expriences of his adversary's strength were most depressing. Amid gloom and despair, however, he stuck on to his guns, and by that dash and will which characterised Babar, he won a glorious victory over the Rajput leader. The Rajput confederacy was shattered and with it their reputation and self-confidence. For many years to come, they did not recover from this shock, and the Mughals were left free to pursue their schemes of conquest and consolidation. After the ruin of the Rajput power, the destruction of the petty Afghan chiefs was only a child's play for Babar. The strongest opposition that they could offer was in combination with the king of Bengal, at the battle of Gogra, and the utter rout that they had there took the sting out of them so long as Babar was living.

That, however, was not very long and Babar's death took place (Dec., 1530) only a year and a few months after. Babar during the four years

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spent in Hindustan had conquered the Punjab, the territories that we now call the United Provinces and North Bihar. Besides, Mewar as the leading Rajput State had formally submitted. That was all that he could do; and what he had left undone was of even greater importance. He had not been able to set up a centralized form of government with himself at the head wielding absolute authority over all; he had failed to build up a sound financial system which necessarily presupposed a comprehensive machinery of administration; and lastly, he had not created any remarkable public and philanthropic institutions to attract the loyalty of the people over whom he was to rule. These shortcomings of Babar were aggravated after his death by the irresolute and imbecile character of Humayun, and the die-hard nature of the Afghan power. The scattered elements of the latter needed only a personality to galvanize them into life, and that was supplied by Sher Shah. Humayun blundered from the beginning of his reign, and failed to comprehend the real magnitude of his task. He should have been a great diplomat and a great general to achieve successfully what his father had not, i.e., an adequate system of government to suit the ideal of absolutism and autocracy, and to crush ruthlessly all recrudescence of Afghan and Rajput pretensions to that end. Unfortunately, he was neither.

The second phase begins with his accession to the throne (Dec., 1530). He met enemies, on all sides, disguised and therefore the more dangerous. His own brothers were jealous of him. Bahadur Shah of Gujarat was no secret enemy of his, and lastly, from the very start of his career, Sher Shah's ambition was sure to clash with his best interests. Yet Humayun did not take timely measures against them and allowed them to grow to endanger his interests and, as for the last, to drive him out of India. His chief folly seems to have been his incapacity to comprehend the relative values of the political factors obtaining at his time. His first great mistake was that he treated his brothers rather a bit too well, and they certainly did not deserve it. This he realized much later in life. The concealed intentions of Bahadur Shah behind his professions of good-will he did not understand, and foolishly allowed a vassal kingdom of his, viz. Mewar to be despoiled by him. Bahadur's religious claim made him blind to the obligation that a sovreign owes to

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his subjects. Consequently he forfeited Rajput sympathy. He never tried to understand its worth, and therefore never attracted the loyalty of the Rajputs. What a great opportunity he neglected, when he was requested by Rāṇī Karṇāvatī to come to her assistance against Bahadur Shah, can be judged in the light of the attitude of Akbar towards the Rajputs. His mad rush through Malwa and Gujrat, only to realize that it availed him nothing in the end has a tragic touch. Then his conflict with the Afghans, led by Sher Shah, who while gradually building up his power had been neglected by Humayun; his defeat at Chausa and Kanauj; his flight into the Punjab and thence to Sind; his invitation to, and retreat from, Jodhpur through a burning sea of sands—all these speak for themselves. He was expelled from India, not merely by the power of the Afghans, but because of his own folly, because of forfeiting the loyalty of the only race that would have been a match for them—the Rajputs. Humayun never suspected the potency of the Rajputs, and trying to fight the Afghans single-handed, he wrecked his empire, his dignity, and reputation. On these wrecks rose the glorious Afghan Empire of Sher Shah. Such is the story of the second phase.

The interval between the second and third phases forms one of the greatest epochs of Indian history. It is full of the brilliant achievements of Sher Shah. War, defence, diplomacy, government, public works, philanthropic institutions—all these inaugurate a new era in India. A highly centralized system of government crowned by a bureaucracy and characterized by full-blooded energy and efficiency mark a radical departure from the accepted methods of Afghan statecraft. New policies, pregnant with political wisdom, foreshadow far-reaching changes in the Muslim polity in India. All unwittingly he builds up a system, that was admirably suited to the political ideals of the Timurids, and this he bequeathed to Akbar, who alone of all the Great Mughals could make the best of it. But even the achievements of Sher Shah were not without a defect. His administrative machinery was not an organism, not a living institution, that could dispense with personality, and therefore it could not survive the shocks of anarchy and disorder that followed Islam Shah'. Such was the end of the Afghan glory.

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That is where the third phase starts. Humayun recovered his lost throne of Delhi no doubt, but he did not live to recover his lost empire. Hardly had six months passed after his occupation of the throne when he was laid in the grave. He left behind a minor son, surrounded by a swarm of enemies ready to dispute his claim to the throne, a kingdom in Hindustan on which the Mughal hold was highly precarious, an empire which lacked cohesion, a body of nobles who were more ready to promote their own interests rather than their master's, a people whose loyalty he had done nothing to claim. Such was the heritage of Akbar. When he was enthroned at the garden of Kalanaur he actually possessed no kingdom. Kabul had been bestowed on Muhammad Hakim Mirza, then under regency; Punjab was the foot-hold of Sikandar Sur, who still disputed the claim of Akbar to the throne of Delhi; between Delhi and Chunar the country was claimed by Ibrahim Shah Sur, and Muhammad Shah Adil, the latter of whom acted through his capable general Himu and was the *de jure* sovereign of the Afghans. All these had as good a claim as Akbar to the throne of Delhi. He could not turn to Kabul for assistance in his conquest of Hindustan. Fortunately the able guidance of Bairam Khan and his firm loyalty helped to sweep off all these enemies, and Akbar was securely placed on the throne of Hindustan. The second battle of Panipat heralded the real foundation of the Mughal Empire in India. During the following four years of regency, he did accomplish much spade work, and when Akbar took up the reins of government a new era began in the history of Muslim rule in India. Gifted with constructive genius of a very high order, an all-comprehensive intellect, a soaring ambition and personal magnetism, he was a born ruler of men. He could easily grasp the needs of the situation in which the Mughals in India found themselves. If he had to establish an empire, he realized, he could not adhere to the beaten track of Muslim state-craft in India. There were powerful enemies who were to be exterminated, and diverse peoples whose love and loyalty to be won. In short, he had not only to impose his rule on the peoples of India, but also to enlist their support. That was a very difficult task indeed; for on the one side there were the disgruntled Afghans burning to take revenge; on the other, there were the valiant Rajputs, proud of their past, and zealous of their independence. Sher

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Shah had to a great extent subdued their pride, and therefore left them sullen. They hated the Afghan, for he did not known how to deal best with them; he rubbed them on the wrong side. The unrelieved coercion that Shah Shah employed to curb them had rendered the very name of the Afghan hateful to the Rajputs. There lay the key to the situation, and Akbar spotted it at once. With the eye of a statesman he saw that the uncertainty of the Mughal tenure of power was due to the basic fact that they were foreigners, as against the Afghans, who were the 'children of the soil,' and so long as the Afghans remained to dispute the sovereignty of Hindustan, these Rajputs must be conciliated, and their co-operation must be ensured. Through them alone the Hindu populace could be best placated. Then only the Mughal rule could gain the moral support it lacked; then the Mughal Empire could only be firmly established. A co-ordination of the Mughal diplomacy, the Rajput vigour, and Hindu loyalty, would successfully combat and crush the Afghans, and so long as the latter survived, that co-ordination was an imperative need for the Mughals, for the Mughal position in Hindustan either at the time of Akbar's accession or at the time of Babar and Humayun was essentially weak. The credit of Akbar lies in this fact that he of all the Timurids understood it best, and therefore could devise the best remedy.

Hence towards the Rajputs, he was more than conciliating and their generous nature readily responded to his solicitations. His marriage with the Rajput princesses, his deferential treatment of the Rajputs, his concern to associate them in the administration, in short, his respect for their national susceptibilities opened out their heart to him, and they freely shed their blood for the cause of the Mughal Empire. Akbar's Rajput alliance was only a prelude to his attempts to secure Hindu sympathy and support. That is why we notice a series of regulations issued in reversion of the usual anti-Hindu policy of the Indo-Muslim state. Religious toleration and unstinted recognition of the merit formed the key-note of Akbar's State, and here it is that Akbar's greatness is revealed to the best advantage. But all these were only a means to an end. The fundamental weakness of the Timurid position in Hindustan, the die-hard nature of Afghan opposition, the proud indifference of the Rajputs, and the timid distrust of the Hindus—all

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these were hard realities of a situation, which could be best maintained by a free and full co-operation with the Rajputs and moral support of the bulk of the people, the Hindus. But the great utility of the means should not make us blind to the transcendental ability of the man, who devised the means. Akbar was the real moving spirit, and it was he who put the empire on a firm basis. His extensive conquests, his sound administrative measures, his methods of centralization of power, his institution of a Secretariat, his treatment of the diverse creeds and peoples of the empire—(though here he blundered into persecution of the Muslims)—all these testify to the real greatness of the man. It was he who conquered Malwa from its Afghan ruler; and after depriving the Afghans of all thtir provinces in Hindustan drove out and killed the last powerful Afghan king of Bengal,—Daud. And was it not that Man Singh played an important part in the conquest of Bengal and Orissa? It is indeed difficult to exaggerate the value of the Rajput alliance to the cause of Mughal Empire in India, and it was appreciated so long as there was the Afghan menace. Hence, Jahangir throughout his reign and Shah Jahan for some time followed the policy chalked out by Akbar. But by the time of Shah Jahan, the Afghans had been completely conquered. The last Afghan rebellion, that of Khan Jahan Lodi, was crushed in the second year of Shah Jahan's reign, and since the Mughals did not feel concerned about the Afghans any more, there came about imperceptibly a little stiffness in their relations with the Hindus. In reversion of the former policy Shah Jahan prohibited in 1632 the construction of any new Hindu temple in his empire, and if this was the beginning, Aurangzeb's was the consummation. The pendulum had swung back; there was no need of co-operation and cajolery. The Hindus must be coerced and persecuted and thus curbed. Aurangzeb's attitude towards the Hindus in general and the Rajputs in particular was an elaboration of this policy, which was entirely undeserved, and created so great a commotion that at last it ruined the Mughal Empire. Such was the sequel of Akbar's legacies to the Great Mughals.

As it has been hinted at the outset, the greatness of the Mughal rule was due to the winning of the heart of the subjects. That it was so, till the first few years of Shah Jahan's reign, can be safely asserted.

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The Empire was fast expanding, peace and prosperity reigned supreme in the kingdom; liberal patronage of the Emperors fostered the growth of art and literature, trade and industry; religious toleration evoked a spirit of friendship and good-will between the two militant creeds in the empire; and as a cumulative effect of all these, the epoch was marked by the best forms of national self-expression in all the fields of human activities. The moment, however, the real leaven of all this many-sided development began to fail, the greatness and glory of the Mughals began to decline. Perhaps it was not felt during the reign of Shah Jahan, though the losses on the frontier i.e. of Qandahar and Balkh, ultimately proved to be harmful to the best interests of the empire. The real effect was felt during the reign of Aurangzeb, whose offensive anti-Hindu policy and deliberate insult to the Rajputs undermined the strength of the empire. How short-sighted he or his predecessor was in initiating an anti-Hindu policy could be best judged from this single fact that both of them thought that with the extermination of the Afghans and the establishment of the Mughal Empire, all the vexed problems of the Mughal state-craft could be set at rest. They could afford to neglect the Hindus and antagonise the Rajputs, instead of placating the former and allying with the latter. They failed to see that at a time when the empire was rapidly extending, there might arise ever new problems, and they had to be successfully tackled. They forgot to realize that Akbar had introduced a new field for Mughal activities—the conquest of the Deccan, and it was likely to tax the empire and its resources. It was as arduous a task as the conquest of Hindustan. They had to come into conflict with new peoples and new States, and that called for plenty of political sagacity. But unfortunately, the Mughals were blundering in this direction; they were sacrificing the Rajput co-operation and Hindu loyalty to their religious bigotry. Hence in his attempts to conquer the Deccan, Aurangzeb failed. Hindustan was already ablaze when he wanted to conquer the Deccan, and in such a predicament, failure on all sides was only a foregone conclusion. The Mughal Empire was on the verge of disruption, because it failed to find a solution for the problems that were ever arising during the course of its rapid extension. It had outgrown its usefulness when it antagonised

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those, on whose co-operation and sympathy it had rested so far. Its fall was inevitable.

In conclusion, the Mughal conquest of Hindustan was possible because the Mughals enlisted the co-operation of its peoples against their adversaries, the Afghans. When the conquest of Hindustan was complete and they wanted to conqeur India, they did not realize that the co-operation of the peoples of India was also necessary. Indeed, it was necessary in a still greater degree. The Marathas and the Shiah States in the South presented an insuperable barrier to the Mughal ambition because the brave and cunning Marathas inspired by a religious zeal and national spirit were more than a match for the Mughals, and the Muslim Shiah States though comparatively weak, were implacable in their enmity to the Mughals. Aurangzeb had already alienated the friends of the Empire, the Rajputs, and had goaded the Hindus, the Jats and the Sikhs to resist the Mughal authority by his impolitic measures. With Hindustan up in arms, he wanted to conquer the Deccan and determined to accomplish an impossible task. If the Rajput alliance and Hindu loyalty had helped the Mughals to conquer Hindustan, the Maratha co-operation and the Shiah sympathy should have helped them to conquer the Deccan. It would not have been impossible if the Mughals had possessed sufficient political sagacity. But since they did not, they failed to conquer the Deccan, and to conquer India as a whole.

H. N. Sinha

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The Rise of Vijayanagara

One of the many points still left untouched in the history of Southern India is the question of the change in the administration in the Karṇāṭaka in the fourteenth century of the Christian era. The reason, perhaps, is that it is like many a topic of its nature taken for granted, and that, therefore, it needs no further comment. In this paper I intend to discuss the question of the time of the transference of power from one great Hindu royal house to another rising family, in other words, the date of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire which received the hegemony over the South from the Hoysalas. The opinion of scholars till now has been in almost all instances to accept without reservation 1336 A.D. or thereabouts as the traditional date of the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire. Thus Sewell remarks, "The City of Vijayanagara is, as already stated, generally supposed to have been founded in the year 1336, and that this date is not far from truth may be gathered from two facts. Firstly, there is extant an inscription of the earliest king Harihara I, or Hariappa, the Haraib of Ibn Batuta, in A.D. 1340. Secondly, the account given by that writer of a raid by Muhammad Tughlaq tallies at all points with the story given at the beginning of the Chronicle of Nuniz, and this raid took place in 1334."[1]

Mr. Lewis Rice, while dealing with the Śṛṅgerī maṭh, writes—"The celebrated scholar Mādhava or Vidyāraṇya (forest of learning), author of the Veda-bhāṣya, who was instrumental in founding the Vijayanagara Empire in 1336, was the head of the establishment at that time. By his aid and advice, Hakka and Bukka, the first and third sons of Saṅgama, succeeded in establishing the new state; and Hakka, the first king assumed the name Harihara. His capital, which occupied a very ancient historical site on the Tuṅgabhadrā, was named Vidyānagara

1 Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p 16 (1900 Ed.).

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(City of Learning), after the ministers, but in course of time came to be called Vijayanagara (City of Victory).[2]

The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, whose scholarly articles on the Vijayanagara governors in the *Annual Reports of the Archæological Survey of India*[3] have proved the basis of investigations for many a scholar, wrote in the first of the series thus:—

"The Hoysala kingdom, which had extended over almost the whole of Southern India about the end of the 13th century, received a severe blow from the invasions of Malik Kafur in A.D. 1310. Ballāla III the then reigning king, was first captured and subsequently released. But in A.D. 1327 Muhammad Tughlaq appears to have made another attempt to annex the Hoysala dominions. The Hoysala power in consequence became much enfeebled, and practically came to a close with the demolition of the capital Dorasamudra by the Muhammadans in that year.[4] Ballāla III is, however, known to have ruled till A.D. 1342-43. In the latter part of his reign, Ballāla changed his capital to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in the South Arcot District. His son, Ballāla IV is known to us from one or two stray records in the Mysore State. It is doubtful if he ever ruled as an independent sovereign. Perhaps the change of capital by Ballāla from Dorasamudra to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai was due not only to the fear of the Muhammadans, but also to the rising power of his feudatory chiefs Harihara I and Bukka I. It is not ascertained as yet from epigraphical records what definite position these two chiefs held under the Hoysalas; but that they were powerful enough to exercise much influence in the Hoysala kingdom long before they could declare their independence is proved by certain known facts. Ibn Batuta (A.D. 1333 to 1342) speaks of a Muhammadan chief of Honore (Honnavara) on the Western Coast who was subject to 'Haraib' or 'Harīb,' i.e., Hariappa (Harihara I). The fort of the Bādāmi was built by a subordinate of Harihara I in A.D. 1340.[5] Mr.

2 Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (henceforth abbreviated as *EC.*), VI, Intro., p. 23.

3 *Annual Report of Archæology*, 1907-8, p. 235 *seq.*

4 *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 509-10.

5 *Indian Antiquary*, X, p. 63.

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Sturrock in his *South Canara Manual*[6] says that by A.D. 1336 the traditional date of the foundation of Vijayanagara the Bhairasu Wodeyars of the West Coast had been forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of Vijayanagara, and that a fort had been built at Bārakūru by Harihara. In an inscription assigned by Mr. Rice to about the same period, (Vīra) Bukkaṇṇa Voḍeya (or his son) is represented as attacking a town in the Shimoga district which was within the Hoysala country. The fact that Siṅgeya Daṇḍanāyaka, one of the Hoysala feudatories at Daṇāyakanakoṭṭai, acknowledges the suzerainty of Bakāḷa III in A.D. 1340, but figures as a semi-independent ruler in A.D. 1346-47 also shows that the Hoysala power had declined by that time, and was passing into other hands in the interval. Subsequent to the destruction of Dorasamudra by the Muhammadans, Harihara I and Bukka I, perhaps, began slowly to grow in power, and about A.D. 1340, they had acquired sufficient importance to build forts and attract the notice of foreign travellers, though they were not still in a position to assume the titles of independent sovereignty. In fact, there is strong reason to believe that prior to A.D. 1346 by which time Ballāla had died, there was no attempt made by Harihara and his brothers to declare their independence.[7]

In arguing thus about the political condition in the Karṇāṭaka, Mr. Sastri has arrived at a correct conclusion; but he has brought forward a number of 'facts,' not one of which proves the contention of the learned epigraphist.

Rev. Henry Heras in his *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History* examines the whole question of the famous legend of the Hare, the Hermit, and Harihara. I shall cite the opinion of the Rev. Father in the course of this article.

Before we take up for examination the facts from the epigraphical records which Mr. Sastri has utilised in his survey of the political situation, it is better to note that almost all writers on South Indian history

6 Sturrock, *South Canara Manual* (Madras District Gazetteer Series), I, p. 55.

7 *ASR.*, 1907-8, p. 235 *sq.*

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have confused two things—the building up of the great city called Vijayanagara and the Empire that went by that name.

Mr. Sastri's explanation seems to point to indicate,

(i) that Hoysala Ballāla III's son and successor, Vīra Virupākṣa Ballāla, also known as Ballāla IV did not reign;

(ii) that owing to the Muhammadan invasions, there was confusion in the country resulting in the two chiefs, Harihara I rising to power;

(iii) that these two chiefs 'began slowly to grow in power, and attract the notice of foreign travellers';

(iv) that all the activities of Harihara I tend to prove that during the Hoysala times, in the days of Ballāla III himself, that chieftain had already made clear his intention of setting up his own standard;

(v) but that Harihara and Bukka did not assume the titles of independent rulers till the year 1346 A.D.[8]

Reduced to the minimum, the proposition stands thus:—That in the life-time of Ballāla III and certainly in that of his son, Ballāla IV, Harihara and Bukka had laid the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire.

The Rev. Heras, however, is of opinion[9] that the evidence of Ibn Batuta or the fact of the forts having been built at Bārakūru and Bādāmi by Harihara, cannot be taken as conclusive in proving the rise of the new power in the days of the last two Hoysala rulers. He comments on the facts which Mr. Sastri has understood to mean the anti-Hoysala activities of Harihara, thus—'These isolated instances of the activities of Harihara prove that the unity in ideals and plans that existed between Harihara and his paramount lord was the defence of the northern frontier against the Muhammadans.'[10]

But in maintaining this, the Rev. Heras has based his remarks

8 Dr. Venkata Ramanayya has brought forward another set of arguments to reach the same conclusion. *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, p. 32-33 *passim*. These have been examined by me in a separate connection.

9 *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History.*

10 *Ibid.*, p. 68.

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on the supposition that 'it was most likely at this time, in the period running from 1330 to 1340—the traditional date of the foundation of Vijayanagara, 1335-6 being between these two dates that Harihara I was enthroned at Vijayanagara by the old Hoysala monarch as his own Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara in the north.'[11] The assumption implied herein is that there was Vijayanagara between 1330 and 1340 A.D. This is, however, modified at the end of the book where it is stated that 'Bukka is the real founder of Vijayanagara, south of the Tuṅgabhadrā.'[12]

The question may be resolved in the following two parts:—

(1) There was no city of Vijayanagara between 1336 and 1340 A.D., and

(2) that Harihara I did not assume independence before the year 1346 A.D.

The first part has been dealt with in the *Beginnings*, and, therefore, will not be treated here. In the same work the Rev. Heras has shown that we cannot countenance the belief of Mr. Sastri that between the years 1336 and 1340 A.D. Harihara was engaged in activities to the detriment of the Hoysala kings, Ballāla III and Ballāla IV.[13] I am concerned with the second part, viz., the date of the independent rule of Harihara. Since the above points reject the accepted theory of the traditional foundation of Vijayanagara in 1336 A.D. by Harihara, it is imperative that we should examine carefully the evidence before us which has been most unfortunately interpreted in all quarters in a strange light. This will, of course, make us cover the same ground which Mr. Sastri traversed, and review once again the whole situation.

The assumption that Ballāla IV did not rule is incorrect. This is proved by the following inscription recording a grant that is signed by the 'king's own hands' (Ā devarugaḷa sahastada oppa):

"(The usual titles) Pratāpa Cakravartti, Hoyisaṇa Bhujaballa Śrī Vīra Ballāḷa-Devarasara Kumāra Śrī Vīra Virupākṣa Ballāḷa Devarasaru Śrīmanu Mahā-pradhānaṃ Pāḍiya Somaya Doṇṇāyakara-makkaḷu Ballapa Daṇṇāyakaru yī Kaliyugada 1265 varusa Śvabhānu

11 *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, p. 67.
12 *Ibid.*, p. 130.
13 *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 90 *passim*.

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Saṃvatsarada Śrāvaṇa-ba 5 Śukravārad andu Śrī Hoṛavale nāḍiṅge-mukhyar appa Halasubāḷa-gavuḍaya Bommagauḍana maga Javani-gauḍan aṉiya Bomma-gauḍara maga Chikka-Bomma-Gauḍa Muda-gauḍana-maga Naga-gauḍa Bocha-gauḍana maga Būva-gauḍa Baire-gauḍanamaga Bomma-gauḍan-oḷagāda Halli-Hiriyūra gavuḍu-gaḷige Śri Vīra Virupākṣa Ballāla Devarasaru (?) ā-Ballappa-Daṇṇāyakaru Śrī-Vīra-Virupākṣa-Ballāla-Devaravarige paṭṭavādalli ā-Devarugala Karu-nisi ā Halasu-bāḷa-halli-Hire-ura-gauḍa-gaḷige Koṭṭa-śāsanada Krama-vent-endaḍe," etc. (here follow details of the grant).[14]

The grant records that when "Ballappa Daṇṇāyaka (on the date specified: August 11th, A.D. 1343?)[15] on Vīra Virupākṣa Ballāla Deva obtaining the crown, by the favour of the king, a śāsana was granted to the farmers (many named) of Halli-Hiriyuru in Halasubāḷa, belonging to Horavala-nāḍu as follows:—for those farmers there is no(?) forcible seizure, and no (?) tax on livelihood, to continue to children's children, and children of slaves, as long as the earth and the moon endure. Usual imprecations. Signed by the King's own hand Śrī Vajreśvara-Devaru written by Gopācārya."

The following observations may be made on this grant:—Firstly, that it is not a royal grant in the sense that it has not at its end the usual signature of the Hoysalas. The name "Śrī Vajreśvara-devaru is in itself sufficient to disprove that Ballāla IV reigned, since it is not equivalent to the Hoysala sign-manual "Maleparol-gaṇḍa."[16] Secondly, this inscription is defective because "Kaliyugada" has been wrongly substituted for "Śaka-varusada."[17]

Admitting such defects in the inscriptions, nevertheless there remains the fact that the coronation of the king is definitely mentioned in it; and that consequently on the death of Ballāla III in the battle of Trichinopoly in 1324 A.D.,[18] Vīra Virupākṣa Ballāla I, whose

14 *EC.*, VI, Cm. 105., p. 49-50, (Trans.); p. 202, (Text).

15 The week-day does not correspond. Swami Kannu Pillai, *The Indian Ephemeris*, IV, p. 289.

16 But it may be that the Hoysalas till the very end were under the influence of the Śaiva teachers. Vajreśvara and Somanātha were the gods in whose presence Narasiṃha in S. 1148 made grants. 280 of 1925.

17 Rice, *EC.*, VI, p. 202, note 4.

18 Which Rice seems to have read as battle of Beriḅi, *EC.*, VI, Intro. p. 18

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"Yuvarājābhiṣeka' ceremony Ballāla III himself had performed in 1340 A.D.,[19] became king over Hoysala nāḍu in 1342-3 A.D. The fact of his having ruled is evident from another inscription which runs thus:—

"Vyaya-saṃvatsarada Vaiśākha-Su. Betyavāradalu Śrīmatu Jiñjaṇṇa-nāyakara-makkalu Jakkaṇṇa-nāyakaravaru Ballāla-rāyana Kala dalli Kāṭṭu-nāyakaravara Jadda pura vanu Pātāḷa bhoji-Voḍeyara-makalu Siddayāji-voḍeya rige Kāṭṭa-mallikārjuna-rāyapurakke saluva chatus-sīme-voḷitāgi Koṭṭarn yī purakka ārū-valipidaru Gaṅgeya tīra-dalli Kappuleya Koṇḍa-pāpakke hoharu etc."[20]

The Ballāla referred to in the above inscription can only be Ballāla IV, since the engraver would, if it belonged to the reign of Ballāla III, have used the well-known "Vīra Ballāla," the popular name of the last but one Hoysala ruler. The inscription is to be understood, not as a proof of Ballāla IV reigning as a monarch in the cyclic year *Vyaya* in which it is dated, but as an evidence of his recent death. This can be inferred from the phrases used in connection with the king and the different persons in the inscription. The king is spoken of in the singular "Ā Ballāla-rāyana Kāladalli"; while the different persons are given in the plural "Jakkaṇṇa-nāyakaravaru," "Kāṭṭu-nāyakaravara," "Siddaya-jī-voḍeyarige." It is highly doubtful if the Karṇāṭaka people, amongst whom the difference between the modes of address used in connection with persons of rank and the others is so marked, would, had Ballāla IV been alive when the grant was made, have given the singular only for the king and the plural for the rest. It is not denied that the plural is used in one instance in connection with the sons of Jiṅgaṇṇa; but it may be remembered that the Nāyaka himself is spoken of in the most respectful terms. Further, it is not denied too that the singular form for the king and the plural for the donee were not used in Vijayanagara times. Thus we have the famous reconciliation between the Jainas and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas in 1368 A.D., when the king is styled—"Śrī Vīra-Bukka-rāyanu pṛthvi-rājyava-māḍuva-

but which, a Dr. S. K. Aiyangar rightly suggests, should be Tiruchchirapally. *QJMS.*, XI, p. 22, note.

19 *EC.*, IX. Bn. 111, p. 40.

20 *EC.*, IX. Bn. 120, p. 44.

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kāladalli."[21] This may be explained by saying that in 1368 A.D. the question of reconciliation between two powerful sections of the Hindu community was more important for the well-being of the Hindu kingdom, which had then recently come into power, than the mentioning of the king in the usual high sounding though appropriate terms. But what concerns us is that whereas in 1343 A.D. Ballāla IV was given the proper status of a king in the words "Śrī Virupākṣa Ballāla-Devarasaru," and Śrī Vīra- Virupākṣa Ballāla-Devarige",[22] the same monarch, had he been living when the grant was made by Jiṅgaṇṇa's sons, would not have been called merely "Ballāla rāyanu." Moreover, the surmise gathered from the above inscription about the death of Ballāla IV, whose reign, as we said, commenced in A.D. 1343, agrees very well with an important announcement by the next ruler Harihara,—in other words, with the date of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire.

(To be continued)

B. A. Saletore

21 *E.C.*, II, no. 344, p. 145 (2nd ed.).
22 *E.C.*, IV, Cm. 105, *loc. cit.*

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The Earliest Extant Account of Sher Shah

In the bibliography appended at the end of his critical study of the life of Shēr Shah, Mr. Kalikaranjan Qanungo divides the writers on Sher Shah's reign into two classes, the Afghan and the non-Afghan, and includes within the latter the Mughal and European writers on the subject. The Hindi and Rājasthānī writers thus seem to have been either totally neglected, or so scantily used as not to deserve any mention in the course of the narrative, or the bibliography. But had the learned writer gone to the Hindi writings on the subject, he would have found there an account much earlier than that of Abbās Sarwānī (the earliest writer on the reign of Sher Shah known to Mr. Qanungo who wrote his book the *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī* 40 years after Sher Shah's death). Mālik Muhammad Jāyasī, to whose account I refer, was a contemporary of Sher Shah, and began writing the *Padmāvat*, in 947 Hijri year, that is, about 1540 A.D. when Sher Shah was ruling at Delhi. His description of the Sur emperor, though over-laudatory, is strikingly true in certain particulars, and is corroborated by the evidence of well-known historians like Abbās and Nizāmuddīn who at times repeat the exact sense of some of the statements made by the Hindi poet. As the record is of some value as the earliest account of Sher Shah by one who was not a courtier or court-poet cringing for royal favours, but a saintly *faqir* living far away from the court and recording his honest impressions, I give below a translation of that portion of the *Padmāvat*, which deals with Sher Shah.

Transl. Sher Shah is the Sultan of Delhi. Like the sun he pervades four quarters with his glory. The umbrella and the throne add to his majesty. All kings bow down their heads on the ground before him. He is a Sur by caste, and so is he *śūra* (brave) in using the sword. He is wise and endowed with all good qualities. He made the warriors of the nine regions pay homage to himself.

The seven isles and all the world submitted to him. With his sword he conquered as much territory as was done by Alexander, the Conqueror of the east and the west. In his hand is the ring of Solomon, (hence) he has been profuse in his charities to the world. Bringing

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the earth to an equipoise with his weight (greatness), this great and powerful king takes care of all the creation.[1]

Muhammad gives the blessing, 'May you rule for many *yugas*. You are the emperor of the world, and the world stands indebted to you.'

I give a description of the Sur King, the lord of the land, the weight of whose paraphernalia cannot be borne by the earth. When his cavalry, infantry and elephants march filling the world, mountains are reduced to sands and fly into air; assuming the form of night, the sands envelope the sun, and human beings and birds return home to have rest; the earth flying into the sky gives it a muddy colour; the world and the Universe get broken into pieces; the sky quakes, Indra trembles with fear, and Vāsuki going to the nether world clings to it; Meru sinks down into the ground, the sea is dried, and woods crumble into dust; men in the front divide water among themselves, and those left behind cannot have even mud.

When Sher Shah, the foremost warrior of the world, marches against some one, the forts which never submitted to any one are turned into powder the very moment he begins his march.

As regards his justice on this earth, I say that none gives pain even to a creeping ant. Even Nausherwan who has been described as a great judge could not equal Sher Shah in giving right decisions. When he dispenses justice like Umar, all the world looks up with admiration and praises him. None has the courage to touch even a nose-ring lying (without its mistress); people scatter gold along the road,[2] the cow and the lion move by one path, and the two drink water at one place.

In his *darbar* he distinguishes between water and milk, and separates the one from the other. His justice is in accordance with law, his statements are true, and the weak and the strong are given equal

1 **औ अति गरु भूमिपति भारी, टेकि भूमि सब सिहिटि सम्भारी ॥**

A comparison seems to have been drawn between an avatāra of Viṣṇu, Varāha, Kacchapa, or Kṛṣṇa and Sher Shah.

2 Cf. the following extract from *Nizāmuddīn's Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* quoted by Mr. Qanungo "Such was the state of safety of highways that if any one carried a purse full of gold (pieces) and slept in the desert (i.e. deserted place) for nights, there was no need for keeping watch."

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consideration by him.[3] Folding its hands, all the world bows down to the ground, and prays that the emperor may live as long as there is water in the Ganges and the Jamuna.

Folding its hands, all the world bows down to the ground, and prays that the emperor may live as long as there is water in the Ganges and the Jamuna.

Again how am I to describe the beauty of his form. When he goes out, all the world gazes at his face. Even the moon of the 14th lunar day created by God is surpassed in splendour by his beauty. On seeing him, sin departs, and the bowing world showers blessings on him. Like the sun he sheds his lustre over the world, and overpowers the beauty of everything else. So glorious is this Sur king that his glory is ten times that of *sūra* (the sun). One cannot look him full in he face. Those who do that are obliged to bow down their heads. Day by day he increases in beauty. God had made him far more handsome than the rest of the world.

He has a shining jewel on his forehead. The moon is inferior, and he superior. The world eager to see him stands on one side and sings his praises.

Further, God has made him extremely liberal. None has given so much in charity as he.[4] Bali and Vikrama have been said to be very charitable, and Hatim and Karna were very generous. But even these could not satisfy the suitors to the same extent as Sher Shah who has Meru and the ocean as his treasures. In the *darbar* is sounded the drum of his charity, and the fame thereof goes across the seas. Coming into contact with Sher Shah, the world has been transformed into gold,[5] and poverty fleeing thence has gone to other countries. One who went and asked for even one boon was never without food or clothes throughout one's life. Even a performer of ten *aśvamedha* sacrifices did not equal him in merit and liberality.

Such a great giver of gifts is Sher Shah born in this world that there neither was, nor will one be like him, nor does any one now equal him in dispensing charity.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

3 Cf. "He always ascertained the exact truth regarding the oppressed and the suitors for justice; and he never favoured the oppressors, although they might be his near relations, his dear sons, his renowned nobles, or of his own tribe."

Abbās in *Elliot*, iv, 411, quoted by Mr. Qanungo in *Sher Shah*, iv. 408.

4 Cf. 'He fixed a daily payment of 500 *tolchas* of gold upon the poor-house, and night and day he was considerate to the needy. He settled allowances upon the helpless of every place, village and city.'

The Waqiāt-i-Mushtaqī, *Elliot*, iv, 549. Qanungo's *Sher Shah*, p. 407.

5 i.e., becomes rich.

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New Plates of king Bhoja in the Indore Museum [Vikrama] Saṃvat 1079

The name of the celebrated Paramāra king Bhoja of Dhārā is very popular not only in Mālwā but throughout India. His liberal patronage of art and letters is well known to scholars and laymen alike. While describing the munificent gifts of this king a Sanskrit poet has remarked that copper had become rare in his kingdom on account of its extensive use for royal charters[1] (inscribed on copper-plates). Though the statement is an exaggeration, it goes to prove that the number of title deeds on copper-plates issued during the reign of Bhojadeva I[2] must have been pretty large. But the epigraphist's experience has been contrary to his expectation. So far only three grants of this king have been discovered. Several years ago a copper plate of V.S. 1078[3] (Caitra, Śudi. 14) was discovered at Ujjain and another of V.S. 1076[4] (Māgha, Śudi. 5) at Bānswārā (Bānswārā State, Rajputana). The latter grant is now in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. About seven years ago a third copper-plate grant of this king dated V.S. 1076[5] (Bhādrapada, Śudi. 15) was unearthed by a peasant while ploughing his field near Beṭmā, a village in the Depālpur Pargaṇā of the Indore State, Central India. These plates are now preserved in the Indore Museum. The copper-plate grant dealt with in the following lines is thus the fourth[6] known record of Bhoja's reign.

1 अस्य श्रीभोजराजस्य द्वयमेव सुदुर्लभम्।
शत्रूणां शंखलैर्लोहं ताम्रं शासनपत्रकैः॥

Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra (sixth edition), p. 121.

2 For the history of the reign of Bhojadeva, *vide* Luard: *The Dhar State Gazetteer*, pp. 140-54.

3 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 53.

4 *Ibid.*, vol. XII, p. 201; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 320-25.

6 The Tilakvada plates of V.S. 1103, published by the late Mr. Kudalkar (*Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona*, vol. II, pp. 319-26) also belong to the reign of Bhojadeva I. They record much praise of king Bhoja, but we are to note that this grant was issued not by Bhojadeva himself, but one Surāditya, son of Yaśorāja, who was probably a feudatory of this Bhoja. Some years ago a grant of Yaśovarman, a subordinate of Bhoja, was discovered from Kalyan in the Nasik district. Referring to Bhoja it records that

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On the 23rd March, 1931 I had been on tour to Depālpur, twenty-four miles to the north-west of Indore and situated at 22° 51′ N. latitude and 75° 37′ E. longitude. This ancient town[7] was founded by the Paramāra king Devapāla (1216-40 A.D.), whose name is associated with a very large lake there, known as Depālasāgara. In view of the antiquity of this town I expected some old records of the Paramāras there. Accordingly on enquiry I was informed that Kishore Singh Kanungo of the place had in his possession an old copper-plate inscription which could not be deciphered by any one in the village as also by certain State officials who had previously examined it. The statement convinced me of the antiquity of the charter. On examination I found that it was the fourth copper plate grant of the reign of the illustrious Rājā Bhoja. This grant has subsequently been purchased from the owner for the Indore Museum.

The grant is incised on two plates of copper held together by two copper rings each 3/8" thick and 2¼" in diameter. The plates measure 13" by 9" and weigh 7¼ pounds. The size of letters varies from $\frac{5}{16}$ to ½". The characters of the second plate are more neatly and carefully incised than those of the first which is partly worn out; yet its letters can be deciphered with effort. There is a margin of about an inch to the left of the inscribed portion. The left corner in the lower half of the second plate bears within a rectangular border a flying figure of Garuḍa which is usually met with in the grants of the Paramāras. The sign manual of Bhojadeva is affixed at the end of either plate. The characters of the sign manual, in ll. 15 and 30 differ slightly from those of the body of the grant. We are to take note of the fact that none of the known plates of this king gives the name of the writer of the grant as also the messenger (*dūta*) who carried the royal charter to the town or village where the land was granted.

he conquered Karṇāṭ, Lāṭa, Gurjarāṭ, Cedi and Koṅkaṇa. Though the date of the inscription is not furnished by the plates, according to the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, it might have fallen before 1056 A.D. (*Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1921-22, pp. 118-19). Besides the plates referred to above, another record of the illustrious Rājā Bhoja dated samvat 1091 (1034-35 A.D.) is engraved on an image of Sarasvatī which has found its way to the British Museum, London.

7 For the antiquarian remains at Depālpur *vide The Indore State Gazetteer* (revised and enlarged, 1931), vol. II, p. 18.

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This grant is composed in Sanskrit prose and poetry ; but at some places we come across corrupt forms used in local pronunciation, e.g. जस for यश and शाशन for शासन in जसोभिवृद्धये (l. 17), ०जसस्कराणि (l. 22) and शाशनेनोदक०[8] (l. 18). The alphabet is Nāgarī of the 11th century A.D. prevalent in Mālwā, as known to us from the other records of this period e.g., the Bānswārā and Beṭmā (now Indore Museum) grants of the same king. In calligraphy the grants of Bhojadeva do not compare favourably with the excellent writing of other Paramāra inscriptions. As compared to the Beṭmā plates this grant bears somewhat crude and careless writing.

Orthographically we are to note that the consonant व is expressed by व throughout, e.g., in वुध्वा (ll. 20, 28), सलिलवुद्वुद० (l. 24), ०दलावुर्विदु० (l. 27), etc. In some places स is wrongly replaced by श and *vice versa*, viz., शाशनेनो० (l. 18), सिरसा (l. 1), ०मनिसं (l. 2), परयसः (l. 24) etc. Similarly य is substituted by ज in पुण्यजसो० (l. 17) and ०जसस्कराणि (l. 22). A consonant following र् is generally doubled e.g., in सर्ग्गाय (l. 1), धर्म्म० (ll. 10, 20, 22 and 26), आत्रेयार्ब्बना० (l. 14), समभ्यर्च्च्य (l. 9), चंद्रार्क्कार्ण्णव० (l. 17), निर्म्माल्यवान्ति० (l. 22) etc. Redundant use of *anusvāra* and *visarga* is met with in दृष्ट्वां (l. 9) and भूमेःश्च (l. 12-13) respectively. The writer prefers *anusvāra* to म् as we find it used even at the end of a verse or a sentence e.g., in जगद्वीजांकुराकृतिं (l. 1) समुपनेतव्यं (l. 19) and फलं (l. 21).

The *pṛṣṭhamātṛkīs* have been used indiscriminately. The letter कृ is written imperfectly e.g., in जगद्वीजांकुराकृतिं (l. 1) and ०फलमंगीकृत्य (l. 17). In conjunct ग्ग the second letter is indicated by a stroke turned to the left of the line with

8 At present too we find the word जस often used for यश in names like जसवंतसिंह जसवंतराव etc. In Rajputana शासन is corruptly pronounced as शाशण, शाशण and सासण। In the following old couplet in praise of the munificent gifts of Maharana Jagatsimha I (V.S. 1685-1709) of Mewar we notice the use of सासण :—

सिधुर दीधा सातसे, हयवर पाँच हजार।
एकावन सासण दिया, जगपत जगदातार॥

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a loop or without it. To a layman it would naturally appear to be त्न or म्र. But in such forms we are to take the stroke to the left coupled with the portion of the vertical line below it as representing the consonant ग, which bears close resemblance to the Brāhmī ग of very ancient inscriptions.[9] सग्गाय (l. 1) is an example of it. In fact there is no distinction in the shape of व, ब and ध (e.g., वुध्वा, ll. 20, 28). In the ligature भ्र the second member is expressed by the full letter added below the first consonant and not by a stroke to the left as we generally find, e.g., in वाताभ्रविभ्रम० (l. 9).

Among the numeral signs used for the Saṃvat (1079) in l. 29, all agree with the modern Devanāgarī numerals except the figure 7, which would be misconstrued for 3 of Nāgarī on account of the close resemblance between the two. That the third figure in the Saṃvat represents 7 and not 3 is proved by the use of an exactly similar form for 7 in the Kūrmaśataka of king Bhoja.[10] For chronological reasons too it must be taken to represent 7, otherwise the date of the grant would be V.S. 1039, which is quite impossible, as Bhojadeva actually ascended the throne about twenty-eight years hence, a fact which goes against the possibility of the issue of this grant by him.

The genealogical portion of the grant teaches us nothing new, as it agrees literally with the text of the Ujjain, Bānswārā and Beṭmā plates. The only noteworthy difference is in regard to the occasion of making the grant. Herein we do not find mention of any *parvan* (as in other plates of Bhojadeva)[11] or some other special occasion for granting the land. We are simply informed that property in land was granted to a certain Brāhmaṇa by Bhojadeva after he "had taken his bath in the expiation-fee (in the form of a river) for the

9 For details on this point see *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā* (Hindi), new series, vol. XII, pp. 9-10, where I have discussed it in editing a long Sanskrit inscription in the Indore Museum.

10 Mahamahopadhyaya Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha's *Bhāratīya Prācīna Lipimālā* (second edition), pl. lxxvi.

11 खाषुदगायनपर्व्वणि—Ujjain plates, l. 9.

कोंकणविजयपर्व्वणि—Bānswāra plates, l, 10..

कोंकणप्रहणविजयपर्व्वणि—Beṭmā (now Indore Museum) plates, l. 15.

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slaughter of animals for the purpose of feeding the learned *vipras*". The use of स्नात्वा after पारद्वि(गवि)प्रभृतिकृतप्राणिवधप्रायश्चित्तदक्षिणायां positively suggests the existence of a certain river, after bathing in the holy water of which, Bhojadeva granted the piece of land specified in the plates. The identity of that river can be ascertained only after a close perusal of the literal sense of "परद्वि...दक्षिणायां" referred to above. I find in this phrase there is an indirect reference to the river Chambal (Skt. Carmaṇvatī), the legend of the origin of which concurs with the reference herein made. In very ancient times king Rantideva of lunar race was, according to the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, very famous for his charitable acts and munificent gifts. In the Mahābhārata it is stated that two hundred thousand cooks were employed in his royal kitchen where innumerable animals were slaughtered every day in order to distribute doles to Brāhmaṇas, guests and mendicants. In course of time a river of blood from the skins of slaughtered animals flowed from his kitchen; and it thereby came to be known as Carmaṇvatī,[12] a name which was later on corrupted into the modern Chambal. It appears that the scholar who drew up this title deed was anxious to display his pedantic skill by alluding to the Chambal through a round about reference to the origin of this sacred river. A similar attempt at an indirect reference to the same river has been made in a more explicit manner by the celebrated Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta* wherein the Yakṣa at Rāmagiri, while addressing the cloud messenger, points out to the latter the way to Alakā in the course of which he should, on proceeding beyond Devagiri (in Mālwā), "rest awhile to do honour to the glory of Rantideva sprung from his slaughter of daughters of Surabhi

12 सांकृतिं रन्तिदेवं च मृतं सृंजय शुश्रुम।
यस्य द्विशतसाहस्रा आसन्सूदा महात्मनः ॥ १ ॥
गृहानभ्यागतान्विप्रानतिथीन्परिवेषकाः।
पक्वापक्वं दिवारात्रं वरान्नममृतोपमम् ॥ २ ॥
उपस्थिताश्च पशवः स्वयं यं शंसितव्रतम्।
बहवः स्वर्गमिच्छंतो विधिवत्सत्रयाजिनम् ॥ ४ ॥
नदी महानसाद्यस्य प्रवृत्ता चर्मराशितः :
तस्माच्चर्मण्वती पूर्वमग्निहोत्रेऽभवत्पुरा ॥ ५ ॥

Mbh., Droṇaparvan, chapter 67.

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(e.g., cows) and appearing on earth in the form of a river".[13] In this connection we should also take note of the fact that the village of Kirikaikā (modern Karkī in the Depālpur Parganā, Indore State), where the land was granted, is situated on the Chambal. Thus it evidently confirms the view that king Bhoja granted the land in Karkī only on the occasion of taking his bath in the waters of the Chambal. This river of ancient fame is regarded very sacred in Mālwā down to the present day.

The grantee in the present inscription is a Brāhmaṇa, rich with Vedic studies, named Vacchala, son of Bhaṭṭa Soṣvara of the Ātreya-*gotra* with the three *pravaras* Ātreya, Ārcanānasa and S(Ś)yāvāśva and of the Bahvṛca-śākhā. He hailed from Mānyakheṭa.

The property granted to the Brāhmaṇa consisted of thirty-four *aṃśas*[14] of level ground from the ordinary land near Kirikaikā, a village in the western district of Ujjain.

In respect of the identification of the localities mentioned in the grant it may be said that Dhārā is undoubtedly the famous capital of Rājā Bhoja which is identical with the modern Dhār (22° 36′ N. latitude and 75° 19′ E. longitude), the capital of the Dhār State in Central India. Ujjaya(yi)nī is no doubt the Ujjain of modern times in the Gwalior State. Kirikaikā, as stated above, is the village of Karkī (Depālpur Parganā) on the Chambal about six miles from the town of Depālpur. It is nearly forty miles to the south-west of Ujjain. We may, therefore, assume that during the reign of Bhojadeva this village was included in the western district of the province of Ujjayinī. Mānyakheṭa is identical with the modern Mālkheḍ in the Nizam's dominions.

The inscription is dated the 14th day of the bright half of the month of Caitra in the (Vikrama) year 1079 corresponding to the 19th March 1022 A.D. according to the Caitrādi reckoning. It is thus the latest of the extant plates of Bhojadeva.

13 व्यालंबेथाः सुरभितनयालम्भजां मानयिष्यन्।
स्रोतोमूर्त्या भुवि परिणतां रन्तिदेवस्य कीर्तिम्॥
Meghadūta, Pūrvamegha, 17.

14 In ancient copper-plate inscriptions, we notice the use of **अंश** and **वंटक** as synonyms (**अंशभागौ तु वंटके** *Amarakośa*, II, v. 39) to denote 'share'. It appears that the proceeds of the village were divided into a number of shares of which thirty-four could be obtained by the grantee from the produce of the land granted to him. For **वंटक** vide ***Ep. Ind.***, vol. IX, p. 106.

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TEXT[15]

First Plate

1 ओं[16] [॥] जयति व्योमकेशोसौ यः सर्गाय बिभर्त्ति[17] तां।
ऐंदवीं सिरसा[18] लेखां [19]जगद्बीजांकुराकृतिं[20] ॥ [१॥]

2 तन्वन्तु वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिसं[21] जटाः।
कल्पांतसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलयपिंगला ॥ [२॥]

3 परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानु-
ध्यातपरमभट्टारक-

4 महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवाक्पति[22]राजदेवपादानुध्यात-
परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-

5 परमेश्वरश्रीसिंधुराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदे-

6 वः कुशली ॥ श्रीमदुज्जय[23]नीपश्चिमपथकान्तःपातिकिरि-
कंकायां समुपगतान्समस्तराजपु-

7 रुषान्ब्राह्मणे[24]त्तरान्प्रतिनिवासिपट्ट[25]किलजनपदादींश्च समा-
दिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं ॥ यथा

8 श्रीमद्धारावस्थितैरस्माभिः पारद्धि[26]प्रभृतिकृतप्राणिवधप्राय-
श्चित्तदक्षिणायां स्नात्वा चराचरगु-

15 From the original plates.

16 Expressed by a symbol.

17 Read बिभर्ति.

18 Read शिरसा.

19 Read जगद्बीजांकुराकृतिम्.

20 *Anuṣṭubh* metre, in vv. 1-2.

21 Read ०मनिशं.

22 The left hand portion of the letter *ka* is expressed here only by a point separated from the body of the letter. *Cf.* similar forms in ll. 5 and 4 of the Bānswārā and Betmā grants respectively.

23 Read ०दुज्जयिनी.

24 Read ०ब्राह्मणोत्तरा०.

25 The modern word *patel* is evidently a corrupted form of Skt. *pattakila*, which, in accordance with 'क्वाचजतदपयदां प्रायोलोपः' of Prakrit grammar (Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa*, chapter II, *sūtra* 2) पट्ट इल which is further changed to पट्टेल (which has been reduced to the simple form of पटेल) by आद्गुणः (6/1/87) of Pāṇini's grammar.

26 I would like to read it पारगब्रि० which gives the proper meaning.

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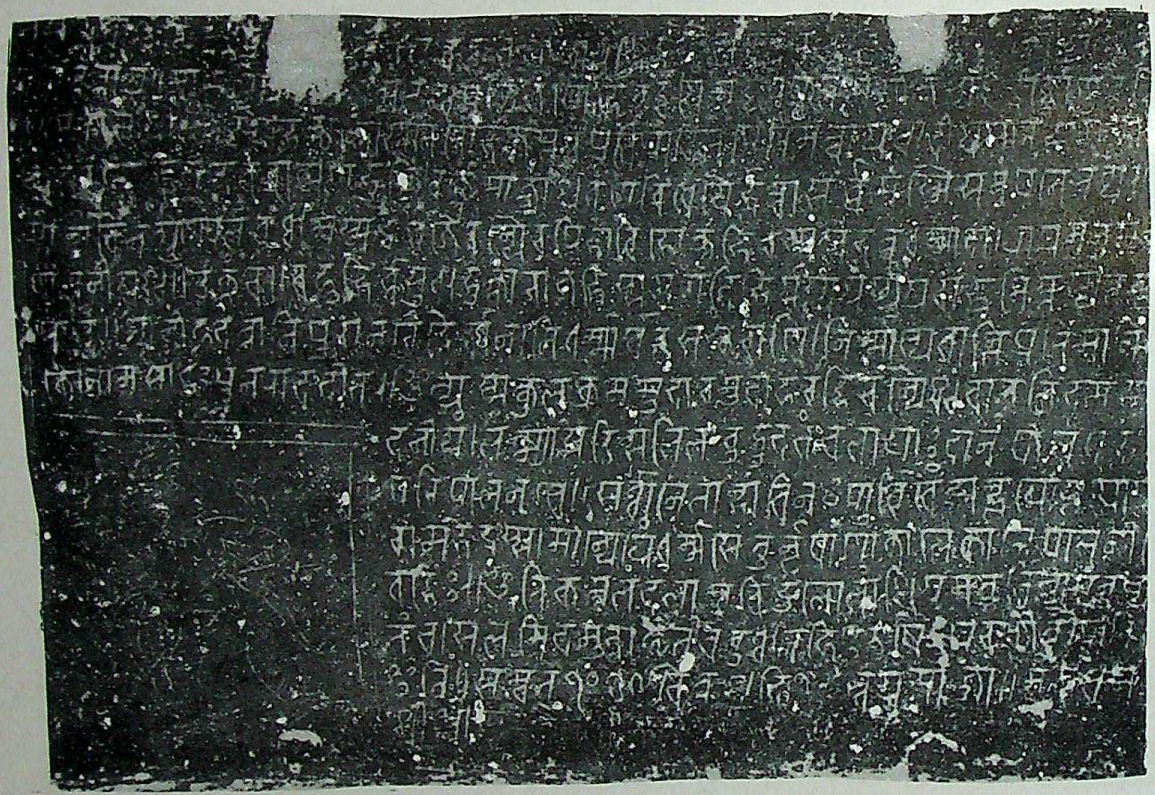
9 रुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्च्य संसारस्यासारतां
दृष्ट्वां[27] वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्य-
10 मापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः [।] प्राणास्तृणाग्र-
जलविंदु[28]समा नराणां धर्म्मस्सखा परमहो
11 परलोकयाने[29] । [।३ ॥] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधारामिमां[30] श्रियं ।
प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः
12 परं फलमि (म्) ॥ ४ ॥इ)ति जगतो विनश्वरं स्वरूपमा-
कलय्योपरिलिखितग्रामात् ग्रामसामान्यभूमेः-[31]
13 श्चतुस्तृं[32]शत्यंशप्र[33][स्थ]कं हलचतुष्टयसंवत्तो[34] स्वसीमातृण-
गोचरयूतिपर्यन्तं सहिरण्यभागभो-
14 गं सोपरिकरं सर्व्वादायसमेतं च । श्रीमान्यखेटविनि-
र्ग्गताय । अत्रेयसगोत्राय । आत्रेयार्च्चना-
15 स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [।]

SECOND PLATE

16 नस[35]स्यावाश्वेतित्रिःप्रवराय ।[36] वह्वृचशाखाय ।[37] भट्टसोश्वर-
सुतब्राह्मण[38]वच्छलाय । श्रुताध्यय-
17 नसंपन्नाय ॥ (।) मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यजसोभिवृद्धये[39]
अदृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य [40]चद्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षिति-
18 समकालं यावत्परया भक्त्या शासनेनोदकपूर्व्वं[41] प्रतिपादि-
तमिति मत्वा यथा दीयमानभागभोगक-
19 रहिरण्यादिकं देव[42]ब्राह्मणमुक्तिवर्ज्जमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा

27 Read दृष्टा .
28 Read ०बिंदुसमा .
29 Metre *Vasantatilakā*.
30 Metre *Anuṣṭubh*.
31 *Visarga* should be omitted.
32 Read श्चतुस्त्रिंशत्यं०.
33 *Prastha* denotes a measure (of land also in rare cases), but here it would be better to take it as signifying level ground.
34 Read ०संवृत्तं.
35 Read ०स्यावाश्वेति०.
36 Read ०त्रिप्रवराय .
37 Read बह्वृच०
38 Read ०ब्राह्मण०.
39 Read पुण्ययशो०.
40 Read चंद्रार्का०.
41 Read शासनेनो०.
42 Read ०ब्राह्मण०.



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सर्व्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यं ॥ (।) सा-

20 मान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुध्वा[43] अस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभो-
क्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्म्मादायोयमनुमन्तव्यः

21 पालनीयश्च ॥(।) उक्तं च ॥(।) बहुभिर्व्वसुधा[44] भुक्ता
राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्य्य (भिः । य)स्य यस्य यदा
भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा

22 फलं[45] ॥[५॥] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेंद्रैर्दानानि
धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि ।[46] निर्म्माल्यवान्तिप्रतिमानि तानि

23 को नाम साधुः पुनरादीत[47] ॥[६॥] इत्यस्मत्कुलक्रम-
मुदारमुदाहरद्भिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमो-

24 दनीयं । लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलबुद्बुद[48]चंचलायाः दानं फलं परयशः-[49]

25 [50]परिपालनञ्च[51] ॥[७॥] सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेंद्रा-
न्भूयो भूयो याचते

26 रामभद्रस्सा(द्रः । सा) मान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले
काले पालनीयो भ-

वद्भिः[52] ॥[८॥] इति कमलदलाम्बु[53]विंदुलोलां श्रियमनु-
चिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवि-

28 तं च । स[क]लमिदमुदाहृतं च बुध्वा[55] न हि पुरुषैः
परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या[:55] ॥९॥]

29 इति ॥(।) सम्वत् १०७९ चैत्र शुदि १४ स्वय-
माज्ञा ॥(।) मंगलं महा-

30 श्रीः ॥(।) स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [॥]

43 Read बुद्ध्वा.
44 Read बहुभिर्व्वसुधा.
45 Metre *anuṣṭubh*.
46 Read oयशस्कराणि.
47 Metre *Indravajrā*.
48 Read oबुद्बुदo.
49 Read परयशःo.
50 Metre *Vasantatilakā*.
51 परिपालनं च would be better.
52 Metre *Śālinī*.
53 Read oदलांबुबिंदुo.
54 Read बुद्ध्वा.
55 Metre *Puṣpitāgrā*.

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TRANSLATION

(Line 1). On Victorious is this Vyomakeśa (Śiva) who for the purpose of creation bears on his head the digit of the moon, which appears like the shoot from which the world sprang.

(l. 2). May the matted hair, of the Enemy of Cupid (e.g. Śiva), brown like the circle of the dreadful lightning at the time of final dissolution, always extend your welfare.

(ll. 3-7). The illustrious Bhojadeva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Sindhurājadeva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Vākpatirājadeva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Sīyakadeva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount,—issues, in good health, commands to all the officials of the Government, the inhabitants headed by the Brāhmaṇas, the Paṭels, (other) towns-men and others, assembled at Kirīkaikā, included in the western district (of the province) of Ujjaya(yi)nī, (thus) :—

(ll. 7-9) Be it known to you that having taken our bath in the expiation-fee (in the form of a river) for the slaughter of animals for the purpose of feeding the learned *vipras* and having worshipped the venerable lord of Bhavānī (Śiva), master of the animate and the inanimate (creation), we, residing in Dhārā, seeing the worthlessness of wordly life,

(ll. 9 12 : vv. 3-4) (That) the sovereignty over the earth is as unsteady as the clouds wafted on the wind, the enjoyment of (wordly) objects is pleasant only for a moment, the life of a man is (transitory) like a drop of a water resting on the point of a blade of grass, and *Dharma* alone is the real companion in the journey to the next world ; (and that) those who do not give away their acquired wealth, which is (as it were) standing on the edge of the circumference of the revolving wheel of wordly existence, have contrition as their only reward.

(ll. 12-18) thus ascertaining the transitory nature of the wordly life and choosing to abide by the unknown recompense (for charitable deeds), we have, with a view to increasing the religious merit and fame of ourselves and our ancestors, granted to Brāhmaṇa Vacchala, rich with Vedic studies, son of Bhaṭṭa Soṣvara of the Ātreya-*gotra*

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with the three *pravaras*, e.g., Ātreya, Ārcanānasa and S(Ś)yāvāśva and of the Bahvṛca-śākhā, who had come from Mānyakheṭa, thirty-four *aṃśas* (shares worth) of level land, furnished with four ploughs, from the ordinary land attached to the village with its regular boundaries including the pasture lands for grazing cattle, with the land revenue and (other) cash income, with the sundry taxes and with all (such) rights, by this charter, with the utmost devotion and by pouring libations of water—to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth endure.

(ll. 18-19) Knowing this and in obedience to (our) orders you should give to this (Brāhmaṇa or grantee) the land revenue and other income and everything due to him.

(ll. 20-21). In the same way regarding the fruit of such a charitable deed as common (to all), the succeeding rulers, whether of our family or any other, should acquiesce in the charitable grant given by us and uphold it. For it is said—

[ll. 21-28 contain five of the customary benedictory verses.]

(ll. 29-30) In the year 1079 on the 14th day of the bright fortnight of Caitra. (This is) our own order. Good fortune and great prosperity! The sign manual of Śrī-Bhojadeva.

R. G. Ojha

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Catustava

[In view of the publication of Prof. Tucci's paper *Two Hymns of the Catuḥstava of Nāgārjuna* in the April number of the *JRAS.* (1932), I deem it necessary to write a few lines about the present paper by Mr. Prabhubhai Patel, a Research Scholar working with me in the Viśvabhārati. This paper was written long ago and sent to the Editor of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*. Prof. Tucci's paper contains the original Sanskrit including the Tibetan version of *Nirupama* or *Niraupamya-stava* and *Paramārtha-stava*. Therefore, so far as the first of them, i.e. *Nirupama-stava*, is concerned, Mr. Patel's Sanskrit restoration has now lost much of its value. It has, however, some importance and it lies in this that scholars will be in a position to judge from it, as to how far a Sanskrit restoration from the Tibetan made by a still more competent hand can go nearer the original text. In the present restoration no change whatever has been made after the original published by Prof. Tucci. There are a few defects, no doubt, but most of the variations in the restoration are due to the Tibetan version itself which is not quite in agreement with the Sanskrit original. For instance, in śloka 15 of the original we have nirjitaḥ (kleśas te 'nagha nirjitaḥ), but according to Tibetan which reads here *spans*, it must have been *varjitaḥ*. Mr. Patel has here *tyaktam*. It seems that the Skt. MS. before the Tibetan translator contained the reading *varjitaḥ*, or he himself misread *nirjitaḥ* as *varjitaḥ*. Similarly in śloka 16 the original reads *dhīra*, but in Tibetan we have *dpa po* which suggests nothing but *vīra* as restored by Mr. Patel. In śloka 10, there is *nairātmya* in the original, but there is nothing of it in Tibetan; consequently it cannot be found in the restoration,—Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya.]

Hitherto it is accepted that the work *Catustava* of Ācārya Nāgārjuna comprised the following four *stavas*: *Nirupamastava, Lokātītastava, Cittavajrastava* and *Paramārthastava* (Cordier, II, p. 5). Their Tibetan versions together with the French translations were published in *Le Muséon* in 1914 by Professor Louis de la Vallée Poussin. But as all the copies of the volume were burnt during the last European war it is now not available. I have, however, had the privilege of consulting the work in its proofs which Prof. Poussin was kind enough to send to my revered teacher Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya.

According to Prof. Poussin the last two *stavas* are *Cittavajrastava* and *Paramārthastava*. But it seems to me that the identification is open to doubt. I think, they are *Acintyastava* and *Stutyatītastava* (Cordier,

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II, p. 6). The subject will thoroughly be dealt with in my introduction to the complete work, *Catustava*. For the present the Sanskrit restorations of the first two *stavas*, *Nirupamastava* and *Lokātītastava* are published here with their Tibetan versions, which were made by Paṇḍita Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita of India jointly with a Tibetan translator, Jayaśīla. The remaining two will follow later on. The ślokas which are found as quotations in different works of the great teachers like Candrakīrtti, Prajñākaramati, etc., are marked with an asterisk and the names of the works in which they occur are given in the foot-notes.

I

NIRUPAMASTAVA

1

SANSKRIT TEXT

Restored from the Tibetan Version

निरुपमस्तवः

यो दृष्टिभिर्विपन्नस्य लोकस्यास्य हितोद्यतः ।
भावाभावार्थबोधेन नमो निरुपमाय ते ॥ १ ॥
न बुद्धचक्षुषा किञ्चिदपि त्वमवलोकसे ।
निरुत्तरं दर्शनं ते तत्त्वार्थमवबुध्यसे ॥ २ ॥
सद्भावात्परमार्थस्य ज्ञाता ज्ञेयं न विद्यते ।
अहो सुदुर्गमा बुद्धैरवबुद्धेह धर्मता ॥ ३ ॥
नोत्पादितं त्वया किञ्चिद्धर्मा नापि निषेधिताः ।
[एतया] समताद्दृष्ट्या प्राप्यतेऽनुत्तरं पदम् ॥ ४ ॥
संसारस्य प्रहाणेन निर्वाणं न मतं तव ।
संसारानुपलम्भेन ज्ञाता शान्तिस्त्वया प्रभो ॥ ५ ॥
ऐकरस्यं त्वया ज्ञातं संक्लेशव्यवदानयोः ।
धर्मधातुरसम्भिन्नः सर्वथा तद्विशोधितः ॥ ६ ॥

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* नोदाहृतं त्वया किञ्चिदेकमप्यक्षरं विभो ।
कृत्स्नश्च वैनेयजनो धर्मवर्षेण तर्पितः ॥ ७ ॥[1]
आकाशसमचित्तत्वं स्कन्धायतनधातुषु ।
यदसक्तोऽसि तेन त्वं सर्वधर्मानना श्रितः ॥ ८ ॥
* सत्त्वसंज्ञा च ते नाथ सर्वथा न प्रवर्तते ।
दुःखार्त्तेषु च सत्त्वेषु त्वमतीव कृपात्मकः ॥ ९ ॥[2]
सुखे दुःखे तथानित्यानित्यादिषु प्रभो तव ।
त्रिकल्पैर्विविधैरेवं चित्तं नैव विपज्जते ॥ १० ॥
न गतिर्नागतिः क्वापि धर्माणां त्वं तथा गतः ।
सञ्चयो नापि कुत्रापि तथासि परमार्थवित् ॥ ११ ॥
अनुवृत्तोऽपि सर्वेण न त्वं कुत्रापि वर्तसे ।
जातिर्धर्मस्तथा कायस्तवाचिन्त्यो महामुने ॥ १२ ॥
* एकत्वान्यत्वरहितं प्रतिश्रुत्कोपमं जगत् ।
संक्रान्तिसादरहितं बुद्धवांस्त्वमनिन्दितः ॥ १३ ॥[3]
शाश्वतोच्छेदरहितं लक्ष्यलक्षणवर्जितम् ।
निरूपयसि संसारं स्वप्नमायादिवत्प्रभो ॥ १४ ॥
वासनामूलनिष्ठेन त्यक्तं क्लेशाशुभं त्वया ।
क्लेशस्वभावकमपि कृतं पीयूषमेव च ॥ १५ ॥
न रूपलक्षणं वीरारूपवत्तव दृश्यते ।
देहस्तु लक्षणोद्दीप्तो दृश्यते रूपगोचरः ॥ १६ ॥
अदृष्टोऽपि रूपदृष्ट्या दृश्यत इति कथ्यते ।
धर्मदर्शनतो दृष्टो धर्मता नैव दृश्यते ॥ १७ ॥

1 *BCP.*, p. 420, ll, 2-3 ; *AS.*, p, 22.

2 *BCP.*, p. 489, ll, 1-2.

3 *MV.*, p. 215, ll, 5-6. The actual reading of *c* in *MV.*, is *saṃkrāntimāsādya gataṃ*. Here *āsādya gataṃ* does not give any proper sense, nor is supported by either of the two Tib. texts, the present work and *MV.*, the latter reading *'pho. daṅ. 'jig. pa daṅ. bral. bar.* The word *sāda* in the suggested reading *sāda-rahitaṃ* is from √*sad* 'to perish'. It is found in actual use in literature in the sense of 'perishing.'

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* शौषीर्यं नास्ति ते काये मांसास्थि रूधिरं न च ।
इन्द्रायुधमिवाकाशे कायं दर्शितवानसि ॥ १८ ॥[4]
* नामया नाशुचिः काये क्षुत्तृष्णासम्भवो न च ।
त्वया लोकानुवृत्त्यर्थं दर्शिता लौकिकी क्रिया ॥ १९ ॥[4]
कर्मावरणदोषाश्च नाशुभास्त्वत्प्रहाणतः ।
त्वया सत्त्वानुवृत्त्यर्थं कर्मत्यागः प्रदर्शितः ॥ २० ॥
* धर्मधातोरसंभेदाद्यानभेदोऽस्ति न प्रभो ।
यानत्रितयमाख्यातं त्वया सत्त्वावतारतः ॥ २१ ॥[5]
कायो नित्यस्थिरशिवधर्मस्वभावकस्तव ।
जिन वैनेयमुक्त्यर्थं निर्वाणं देशितं त्वया ॥ २२ ॥
गतागम्यागता बोधिरसंख्यलोकधातुषु ।
संसारमोक्षाधिमुक्तैस्त्वयि भक्त्यावलोकिता ॥ २३ ॥
* न तेऽस्ति मन्यना नाथ न विकल्पो न वेङ्गना ।
अनाभोगेन ते लोके बुद्धकृत्यं प्रवर्तते ॥ २४ ॥[6]
पुण्यं मया यत्कुसुमैरचिन्त्यै-
रलंक्रियातः सुगतस्य लब्धम् ।
तेनातिदुर्ज्ञेयमुनींद्रधर्म-
पात्राण्यमी सन्तु समस्तसत्त्वाः ॥ २५ ॥
॥ आचार्यनागार्जुनकृतं निरुपमस्तोत्रं समाप्तम् ॥[7]

2

TIBETAN TEXT[8]

DPE. MED. PAR. BSTOD. PA ।

[**Fol. 74*b*, 4**]gaṅ. źig. lta. bas. phoṅs. pa. yi ।
'jig. rten. 'di. la. phan. brtson. khyod ।

4 *PK.*, IV, 2-3.
5 *Subhāṣitasaṅgraha*, p. 14, ll. 20-21 ; *AS.*, p. 22, ll. 3-4.
6 *Kudṛṣṭinirghātana* in *AS.*, p. 1, ll. 12-13. with the wrong reading *veñjanā* for *veṅganā* (=*vā*+*iṅganā* 'ceṣṭā', Tib. *gyo. ba*) in *b*.
7 Tib. Tr. adds : भारतपण्डितेन कुल्लपण्डितेन परिवर्तकेन जयशीलेन च परिवर्तितम् ।
8 Tanjur, Bstod. tshogs, Ka, Fol. 74*b*, 4—75*b*, 7 of the Narthang edition in the Visvabharati Library. See Cordier, II, p. 5.

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dṅos. po. med. pa'i. don. rig. pas ।
[5] dpe. med. khyod. la. phyag. 'tshal. bstod ॥ 1 ॥
gaṅ źig. khyod. kyi[s] cuṅ. źig. kyaṅ ।
saṅs. rgyas. spyan. gyis. ma. gzigs. pa ।
khyod. kyi.[9] gzigs. pa. bla. med. de ।
de. ñid. don. ni. rig. pa. lags ॥ 2 ॥
don. dam. pa. yi. yod. pa. ñid ।
rtogs. daṅ. rtogs. bya. mi. [6] mṅa'. źiṅ ।
e. ma. 'o. mchog. tu. rtogs. dka'. ba'i ।
chos. ñid. saṅs. rgyas. rnams. kyis. rtogs ॥ 3 ॥
khyod. kyis. cuṅ źig. ma. bskyed. ciṅ ।
chos. rnams. bkag. pa'aṅ. ma. lags. la ।
mñam. pa. ñid. kyi. lta. ba. yis ।
bla. na. med. [7] pa'i.go. 'phaṅ. brñes ॥ 4 ॥
'khor. ba. spaṅs. par. gyur. pa yis ।
mya. ṅan. 'das. khyod. mi. bźed. kyis ।
'khor. ba. mi. dmigs. pa. ñid. kyi ।
źi. ba. mgoṅ. po. khyod. kyis. rtogs ॥ 5 ॥
khyod. kyis. kun. nas. ñon. moṅs. daṅ ।
rnam. byaṅ. ro. gcig. [15 a, 1] gyur. rig. pas ।
chos. dbyiṅs. mṅon. par. dbyer. med. pa ।
kun. tu. rnam. par. dag. par. 'gyur ॥ 6 ॥
gtso. bo. khyod. kyi. gaṅ. źig. tu ।
yi. ge. gcig. kyaṅ. ma. gsuṅs. pa ।
gdul. bya'i. 'gro. ba. ma. lus. pa ।
chos. kyi. char. gyis. [2] tshim. pa'ṅ. mthoṅ ॥ 7 ॥[10]
mkha'. daṅ. mñam. pa'i. thugs. mṅa'. khyod ।

9 X appears to read *kyis*.
10 See *BCP*, p. 420 : Tib. Mdo, La, fol. 240 *a*, 6-7 :
gtso. bo. khyod. kyis. 'ga'. źig tu ।
yi. ge. gcig. kyaṅ. ma. gsuṅs. te ।
chos. kyi. char. gyis. gdul. bya. yi ।
'gro. ba. ma. lus. tshim. par. mdzad ॥
Tattvaratnāvalī in *AS*, p. 22 = Tib. Rgyud, Mi, fol. 126 *b*, 4 :
de. yaṅ. gtso. bas. khyod. 'ga'. źig. ।
yi. ge. gcig. kyaṅ. ma gsuṅs. so ।
gdul. bya'i. gro. ba. ma. lus. la ।
chos. kyi. char. gyis. tshim. par mdzad ॥

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phuṅ. po. khams. daṅ. skye. mched. la ।
chags. par. gyur. pa. mi. mṅa'. bas ।
chos. rnams. kun. la. brten. ma. lags ॥ 8 ॥
* mgon. khyo. sems. can. 'du. śes. kyis ।
'jug. pa. kun. [3] tu. mi. mña'. yaṅ ।
sdug. bsñal. gyur. pa'i. sems. can. la ।
sñiṅ. rje'i. bdag. ñid. gyur. pa'ṅ. khyod ॥ 9 ॥[4]
bde. daṅ. sdug. bsñal. de. gyur. pa ।
rtag. mi. rtag. sogs. la.[5] gtso. khyod ।
de. lta'i. rnam. rtog. sna. tshogs. kyis ।
thugs. ni. chags. par. [4] gyur. ma. lags ॥ 10 ॥
chos. rnams. gaṅ. du-aṅ. 'gro. 'oṅ. med ।
de. bźin. khyod. kyi. gśegs. pa'ṅ. lags ।
'ga'. ru. spuṅs. pa'ṅ. ma. lags. la ।
de. bźin. don. dam. rig. pa-aṅ. lags ॥ 11 ॥
kun. gyi[s] rjes. su. źugs. gyur. kyaṅ ।
'ga'. ru. [5] 'byuṅ. yaṅ. ma. lags. la ।
skye. daṅ. chos. daṅ. sku. rnams. kyaṅ ।
thub. chen. khyod. kyi. bsam. mi. khyab ॥ 12 ॥
* gcig. daṅ. gźan. pa. rnams. spaṅs. pa ।
brag. ca. lta. bu'i. 'gro. ba. rnams ।
'pho. daṅ. 'jig. pa. rnams. spaṅs. par ।
smad. pa. med. par. khyod. kyis. [6] rtogs ॥ 13 ॥[6]
rtag. daṅ. chad. pa. daṅ. bral. źiṅ ।
mtshan. ñid. mtshan. bya. rnams. spaṅs. par ।

4 See the note on the Skt. text. There runs the Tib. version as follows :

mgon. khyod. sems. can. 'du. śes. pa ।
rnam. pa. kun. tu. 'jug. ma. yin ।
sems. can. sdug. bsñal. gyis. ñen. la ।
khyod. ni. źin. tu. thugs. rje'i. bdag ॥

5 X *las.*

6 See note, Skt. text. Mdo. Ha, fol. 83 *b*. 5 :

'gro. ba. sgra. brñan. daṅ. 'dra. bar ।
gcig. ñid. gźam. ñid. daṅ bral. źiṅ ।
'pho. daṅ. 'jig. pa. daṅ. bral. bar ।
smad. med. khyod. kyis. thugs. su. chud ॥

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gtso. bos. rmi. lam. sgyu. sogs. bźin ।
'khor. ba. ñes. par. rtogs. pa. lags ॥ 14 ॥
bag. chags. gźir. gyur. mthar. thug. pa'i ।
khyod. kyis. ñon. moṅs. sdig. pa. spaṅs ।
[7] ñon. moṅs. ñid. kyi. raṅ. bźin. yaṅ ।
khyod. kyi[s] bdud. rtsi. ñid. du. bsgr bs ॥ 15 ॥
dpa' [po] khyod. kyi. gzugs. rnams. kyi ।
mtshan. ma. mi. mthoṅ. gzugs. med. bźin ।
mtshan. gyis. 'bar. ba'i. sku. ñid. kyaṅ ।
gzugs. su. spyod. yul. ñid. du. mthoṅ ॥ 16 ॥
gzugs. su. mthoṅ. bas. [75 *b*. 1] mthoṅ. min. kyaṅ ।
mthoṅ. ṅo. źes. ni. rjod. par. byed ।
chos. mthoṅ. bas. ni. źin. tu. mthoṅ ।
chos. ñid. mthoṅ. ba. ma. yin. no ॥ 17 ॥
* khoṅ. stoṅ. khyod. kyi. sku. la. med ।
ś'a. daṅ. rus. pa. khrag. kyaṅ. med ।
nam mkha'i. dbaṅ. po'i. gźu. bźin. du ।
khyod. kyi. sku. ni. ston. par. mdzad ॥ 18 ॥[7]
sku. la. sñun. med. rus. [2] pa'ṅ. med ।
bkres. daṅ. skom. pa. 'byuṅ. med. kyaṅ ।
khyod. ni. 'jig. rten. rjes. 'jug. phyir ।
'jig. rten. spyod. pa'ṅ. bstan. par. mdzad ॥ 19 ॥[8]
las. kyi. sgrib. pa'i. skyon. rnams. kyaṅ ।
sdig. med. khyod. kyi. kun. spaṅs. kyis ।
khyod. kyi[s]. sems. can. rjes. [3] 'jug. phyir ।
las. spaṅs. pa. yaṅ rab. tu. bstan ॥ 20 ॥
* chos. kyi. dbyiṅs. la. dbyer, med. phyir ।
gtso. bo. theg. dbye. ma. mchis. kyaṅ ।
khyod. kyis, theg. pa. gsum. bstan. pa ।

7 See note, Skt. text. The corresponding Tib. Rgyud, Gi. fol. 56*b*. 6 reads *c* as follows : *nam. mkha'. la. ni. 'ja.' tshon ltar.* Here *'ja' tshon = indrāyudhavarṇa.*

8 See note, Skt. text. The corresponding Tib. Rgyud. Gi, fol 58 *b*. 7 reads :

sku. la. bsñun. med. mi. gtsaṅ, med ।
bkres. daṅ. skom. pa. 'gyur. med. kyaṅ ।
khyod. ni. 'jig. rten. rjes. 'jug. phyir ।
'jig. rten. pa. bya. bston. par. mdzad ॥

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sems. can. gźug. pa'i. ched. du. lags ॥21॥[9]
rtag. ciṅ. brtan pa. źi. ba. yi ।
chos. [4] kyi. raṅ. bźin. khyod. kyi. sku ।
rgyal. ba.[10] gdul. bya. dgrol. ba'i. phyir ।
khyod. kyis. mya. ṅan. 'das. par. bstan ॥ 22 ॥
graṅs. med. 'jig. rten. khams. rnams. su ।
'das. daṅ. bltam.[11] daṅ. mṅon. byaṅ. cbub ।
'khor. ba. thar. par. mos. rnams. kyi[s] ।
khyod. la [5] gus. rnams. kyis. kyaṅ. mthoṅ ॥ 23 ॥
* mgon. po. sems. pa. mi. mṅa'. źiṅ ।
rnam. rtog. gyo. ba. mi. mṅa'. yaṅ ।
kyod. kyis. ṅaṅ, gis. 'jig. rten. la ।
saṅs. rgyas. mdzad. pa'ṅ. 'jug. par. 'gyur ॥ 24 ॥[12]
de. ltar. bde. bar. gśegs. pa. bsam. mi. [6] khyab. me. tog ।
gis. brgyan. pa. las. bdag. gi. bsod. nams. gaṅ. thob. pa ।
gyur. pa. 'dis. ni. sems. can. ma. lus. pa. 'dı. dag. ।
mchog. tu. rtogs. dka.' thub, pa'i. chos. kyi. snod. gyur. cig ॥ 25 ॥
dpe. med. par. bstod, pa. slob. dpon. klu. sgrub.
kyis. mdzad. pa. rdzogs. so [7] ॥
rgya. gar. gyi. mkhan. po. kri. śṇa. paṇ. ḍi. ta.
daṅ. lā. tshā'. ba. tshul. khrims. rgyal.
bas. bsgyur. pa'o ॥

9 See *Tattvaratnāvali* in *AS.*, p. 22, and its Tib. Rgyud, Mi, fol. 126 *b*. 1 :

chos. kyi. dbyiṅs. la. dbyed. med. phyir ।
gtso. bos. theg. dbye. ma. mchis. kyaṅ ।
khyod. kyis. theg. pa. gsum. gsuṅs. pa ।
sems. can. gźugs. pa'i. ched. du. lags ॥

10 X *bas.* 11 X *bltams.*

12 See note, Skt. text. The corresponding Tib. Rgyud. Mi, fol 108 *a*. 4 is exactly the same.

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II

LOKĀTĪTASTAVA

I

SANSKRIT TEXT

Restored from the Tibetan Version

लोकातीतस्तव

विवेकज्ञानसंवेदिल्पोँकातीत नमोऽस्तु ते ।
चिरं करुणया यस्त्वं जगद्धिताय खिद्यसे ॥ १ ॥
विनिर्मुक्तः स्कन्धमात्रात्सत्त्वो नैवास्ति ते मते ।
महामुने त्वमेवासि सत्त्वार्थेषु परायणः ॥ २ ॥
मायामरीचिगन्धर्वनगरस्वप्नवत्खलु ।
स्कन्धा एते त्वया धीमन्मतिमद्भ्यः प्रदर्शिताः ॥ ३ ॥
* हेतुतः सम्भवो येषां तदभावान्न सन्ति ये ।
कथं नाम न ते स्पष्टं प्रतिबिम्बसमा मताः ॥ ४ ॥[1]
भूतानामग्रहादृश्या तद्भूतं चाक्षुषं कथम् ।
एवमुक्त्वा त्वया रूपग्रहनिषेधनं कृतम् ॥ ५ ॥[2]
न वेद्यं तदभावेन वेदको विद्यते न तत् ।
वेदनापि स्वभावेन विद्यते नैव ते मते ॥ ६ ॥
नामार्थयोरभेदे स्याद्दाहो मुखस्य वह्निना ।
भेदेप्यवगमो नेति त्वयोक्तं सत्यवादिना ॥ ७ ॥
* कर्ता स्वतंत्रः कर्मापि त्वयोक्तं व्यवहारतः ।
परस्परापेक्षिकी तु सिद्धिस्तेऽभिमतानयोः ॥ ८ ॥[3]
* न कर्तास्ति न भोक्तास्ति पुण्यापुण्यं प्रतीत्यजम् ।
यत्प्रतीत्य न तज्ज्ञातं प्रोक्तं वाचस्पते त्वया ॥ ९ ॥[4]

1 *BCP.*, p. 583, ll. 18-19 ; *MV.*, p. 413 ; Cf. *Yuktiṣaṣṭikārikā*, 40
2 *MA.*, p. 200, ll. 1-3.
3 *BCP.* p. 476, ll. 14-15
4 *Ibid.* ll. 16-17.

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ज्ञेयं ज्ञानं विना नास्ति न ज्ञानमपि तद्विना ।
तस्मादुक्ता त्वया ज्ञानज्ञेययोर्निःस्वभावता ॥ १० ॥[5]

* लक्ष्याल्लक्षणमन्यच्चेत् स्यात्तल्लक्ष्यमलक्षणम् ।
तयोरभावोऽनन्यत्वे विस्पष्टं कथितं त्वया ॥ ११ ॥[6]

लक्ष्यलक्षणनिष्क्रान्तं वागालापविवर्जितम् ।
त्वया हि ज्ञाननेत्रेण शान्तं जगदिदं कृतम् ॥ १२ ॥

* न सन्नुत्पद्यते भावो नाप्यसन्नसदसन्न च ।
न स्वतो नापि परतो न द्वाभ्यां जायते कथम् ॥ १३ ॥[7]

युक्तं चेद्विद्यते भावो नाशास्तस्य न विद्यते ।
युक्तं न विद्यते भावो नाशास्तस्य न विद्यते ॥ १४ ॥

निरुद्धाद्धेतुतस्तावन्न युक्तः फलसम्भवः ।
नानिरुद्धान्मता जातिस्तवेयं स्वप्नसन्निभा ॥ १५ ॥

* निरुद्धाद्वानिरुद्धाद्वा बीजादङ्कुरसम्भवः ।
मायोत्पादवदुत्पादः सर्वमेव त्वयोच्यते ॥ १६ ॥[8]

* अतस्त्वया जगदिदं परिकल्पसमुद्भवम् ।
परिज्ञातमसद्भूतमनुत्पन्नं न नश्यति ॥ १७ ॥[9]

* नित्यस्य संसृतिर्नास्ति नैवानित्यस्य संसृतिः ।
स्वप्नवत्संसृतिः प्रोक्ता त्वया तत्त्वविदां वर ॥ १८ ॥[10]

* स्वयङ्कृतं परकृतं द्वाभ्यां कृतमहेतुकम् ।
तार्किकैरिष्यते दुःखं त्वया तूक्तं प्रतीत्यजम् ॥ १९ ॥[11]

* यः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादः शून्यता सैव ते मता ।
भावः स्वतन्त्रो नास्तीति सिंहनादस्तवातुलः ॥ २० ॥[12]

5 *MA.*, p. 165, ll. 4-7.
6 *MV.*, p. 64. ll. 5-6. 7 *BCP.*, p. 587, ll. 7-8.
8 *Ibid.* p. 533, li. 9-10. *MA.*, p. 97, ll, 9-12.
9 *Ibid.* p. 533 ll. 11-12. 10 *Ibid.* p. 533,ll. 13-14.
11 *MV.*, p. 55, ll. 3-4
12 *BCP.*, p. 417, ll. 6 7. It is to be noted that the last word of the śloka *atulaḥ* is an adjective of *siṃhanādaḥ*. This is according to *BCP.*, and its Tib. But in accordance with the Tib. of *Lokātītastava*, (See the printed text) it is *atula*, vocative.

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* सर्वसंकल्पहानाय शून्यतामृतदेशना ।
यश्च तस्यामपि प्राहस्त्वयाऽसाववसादितः ॥ २१ ॥[13]
* निरीहा वशिकाः शून्या मायावत्प्रत्ययोद्भवाः ।
सर्वधर्मास्त्वया नाथ निःस्वभावाः प्रकाशिताः ॥ २२ ॥[14]
नोत्पादितं त्वया किंचिन्निषिद्धं नापि किञ्चन ।
यथापूर्वं तथापश्चात्तथतावगता [त्वया] ॥ २३ ॥
आर्याश्रितभावनायामप्रवृत्त्यानिमित्तकम् ।
.....विज्ञानं कुत्र वा भवेत् ॥ २४ ॥
आ निमित्तानवगमान्मोक्षो नास्तीति कथ्यते ।
तस्मात्त्वया महायाने तत्त्वं निःशेषमुच्यते ॥ २५ ॥[15]
स्तोत्रपात्र तव स्तोत्राल्लब्धं यत्सुकृतं मया ।
निमित्तबन्धनान्मुक्तं तेनाऽस्तु निखिलं जगत् ॥ २६ ॥
॥ आचार्यार्यनागार्जुनप्रणीतो लोकातीतस्तवः सम्पूर्णः ॥
॥ भारतपण्डितेन कृष्णपण्डितेन परिवर्तकेन जयशीलेन च
परिवर्तितः संशोध्य निरूपितश्च ॥

2

TIBETAN TEXT[1]

'jig. rten. las. 'das. par. bstod. pa ।
[76 a, 1] dben. pa'i. ye. śes. rig. gyur. pa ।
'jig. rten. 'das. khyod. phyag. 'tshal. 'dud ।
gaṅ. khyod. 'gro. la. phan. pa'i phyir ।
yun. riṅ. thugs. rjes. [2] ńal. bar. gyur ॥ 1 ॥
phuṅ. po. tsam. las. grol. ba. yi ।
sems. can. med. par. khyed. bźed. la ।
sems. can. don. la'ṅ. mchog. gźol. bar ।
thub. chen. po. khyod. ñid. bźugs ॥ 2 ॥

13 *Ibid*, p. 415, ll. 3-4. According to *MA.* (See Tib. text) one should read *yasya* (*gaṇ. la*) for *yaś ca* in *c*. *BCP.*, p. 359, ll. 8-9 reads *yasya*.

14 *Ibid*, p. 489, ll. 1-2. 15 *MA.*, p. 310, ll. 12-14.

16 *Ibid*, p. 23, ll. 11-14.

1 Tanjur, Bstod Tshogs, Ka, fols. 76—77ᵃ, 3 of the Narthang edition in the Visvabharati Library. See Cordier, II, p. 6.

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blo. ldan. khyod. kyi[s]. phuṅ. de. yaṅ[2] |
sgyu. ma. smig. rgyu. dri. za. yi |
groṅ. [3] khyér. rmi. lam. ji. bźin. du |
blo. ldan. rnams. la. rab. tu. bstan ‖ 3 ‖
* gaṅ. dag. rgu. las. byuṅ. ba. rnams |
de. med. par. ni. yod. min. pas |
gzugs. brñan. ñid. daṅ mtshuṅs. pa. ru |
gsal. bar. ci. yi. phyir. mi. 'dod ‖ 4 ‖[3]
* 'byuṅ. ba. mig. gi[s]. gzuṅs.[4] [4] min. pas |
de. dṅos. mig. gi. ji. ltar. yin |
gzugs. ñid. gzuṅ. bar. rab. bkag. pa |
gzugs. ñid. khyod. kyis. de. ltar. gsuṅs ‖ 5 ‖[5]
tshor. bya. med. par. de. med. pas |
tshor. ba. ñid. ni. bdag. med. pas |
tshor. ba. de. yaṅ. raṅ. bźin. gyis.
[5] yod. pa. med. par. khyod. ñid. bźed ‖ 6 ‖
mig. daṅ. don. dag. tha. dad. min |
me. yis. kha. ñid. 'tshig. par. 'gyur |
gźan. na'ṅ. rtogs. pa. med. 'gyur. źes |
bden. pa. gsuṅ. ba. khyod. kyis. bstan ‖ 7 ‖
* byed. po. raṅ. dbaṅ. las. ñid. kyaṅ |
tha. ñad. du. ni. [6] khyod. kyis. bstan |

2 X *'aṅ.*

3 See note, Skt. text. Tib. of Mdo, ('a, fol. 152*b*.1 7) has :

gaṅ. dag. rgyu. las. byuṅ. gyur. źiṅ |
gaṅ. dag. de. med. pas. med. pa |
de. dag. gzugs. brñen. daṅ. mtshuṅs. par. |
gsal. bar. ji. lta. bu. mi. bźed ‖

And Tib. of *BCP.* (Mdo, La, fol. 361^a.6) reads :

gaṅ. dag. rgyu. las. 'byuṅ. ba. rnams |
de. med. par. yod. min. gaṅ |
de. rnams. gzugs. brñan. daṅ. mtshuṅs. pa. |
gsal. por. ci. yi. phyir. mi. bźed ‖

4 X *gzugs.*

5 See *MA.*, p. 200, ll. 1-4.

'byuṅ. rnams. mig. gzuṅ. ma. yin. na |
de. byuṅ. mig. gzuṅ. ji. ltar. źes |
gzugs. la. de. skad. gzuṅs. pa. na |
khyod. kyis. gzugs. kyi. 'dzin. pa. bzlog ‖5‖

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phan. tshun. bltos. pa. can. ñid. du ।
grub. par. khyod. ni. bźed. pa. lags ॥ 8 ॥[6]
* byed. po. yod. min. spyod. pa'ṅ. med ।
bsod. nams. de. min. rten. 'brel. skyes ।
brten. nas. skyes. kyaṅ. ma. skyes. źes ।
tshig. gi. bdag. po. khyod. kyis. [7] gsuṅs ॥ 9 ॥[7]
* śes. pa. med. par. śes. pa. min ।
de. med. rnam. par. śes. pa'ṅ. med ।
de. phyir. śes. daṅ. śes. bya. dag ।
raṅ. dṅos. med. ciṅ. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs ॥ 10 ॥[8]
* mtshan. ñid. mtshan. bya. gźan. ñid. ni ।
mtshan. bya. mtshan. ñid. med. par. 'gyur ।
[76 b, 1] tha. dad. yin. na'ṅ. de. med. par ।
khyod. kyis. gsal. po. ñid. du. bstan ॥ 11 ॥[9]
mtshan. ñid. mtshan. bya. rnam bral. źiṅ ।
tshig. gis. brjod. pa. rnam. spṅas. par ।
khyod. kyis. ye. śes. spyaṅ. ñid. kyis ।
'gro. ba. 'di. dag. źi. bar. mdzad ॥ 12 ॥
* dṅos. po. yod. pa. ñid. mi. skye ।

6 See note, Skt. text. Tib. of *BCP* (Mdo, La, fol, 265 *a* 5). runs :
byed. pa. raṅ. dbaṅ. las. kyaṅ. ni ।
tha. sñad. du. ni. khyod kyis. gsuṅs ।
phan. tshun. blots nas. grub. pa. ni ।
gñis. pa. de. dag. bźed. pa. yin ॥

7 See note, Skt. text. and Tib. of *BCP* (Mdo. La. fol. 265 *a* 6) runs :
byed. po. med. cīṅ. za. ba. med ।
bsod. nams. yaṅ. min. rten. 'byuṅ ।
brten. nas. 'buyṅ. ba. ma. skyes. źes ।
tshig. gi. dbaṅ. po. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs ॥

8 See *MA*., p. 165, ll. 4-7 :
ma. śes. pa. ni śes. bya. min ।
de. med. rnam. par. śes. med. pa ।
de. phyir. śes. daṅ. śes. bya. dag ।
raṅ. bźin. med. par. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs ॥

9 See note, Skt. text, and Tib. of *MV* (Mdo. 'a, fol. 64) :
mtshan. ñid. mtshan. gźi. la. gźan. na ।
mtshan. gźi. da. mtshan. med, par. 'gyur ।
tha. dad. med. na. de. dag. ni ।
med. par. khyod. kyis. gsal. bar. bstan ॥

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med. pa'ṅ [2] ma. yin. yod. med. min ।
bdag. las. ma. yin. gźan. las. min ।
gñis. min. skyes. pa. ji. lta. bu ॥ 13 ॥[10]
yod. pa. gnas. par. rigs. 'gyur. gyi ।
'jig. par. 'gyur. ba. ma. yin. no ।
yod.[11] pa. mi. gnas. par. rig. pas ।
'jig. par. 'gyur. ba. ma. yin. no ॥ 14 ॥
re [3] źig. źig. pa'i. rgyu. las. kyaṅ ।
'bras. bu. 'byuṅ. bar. mi. rigs. la ।
ma. źig. las. min. rmi. lam. daṅ ।
'dra. ba'i. skye. ba. khyod. 'di. bźed ॥ 15 ॥
źig. daṅ. ma. źig. pa. dag. gi ।
rgyu. las. 'bras. bu. 'byuṅ. ba dag ।
sgyu. ma. 'byuṅ. ba. bźin. du. 'byuṅ ।
kun. kyaṅ, [4] de. bźin. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs ॥ 16 ॥[12]
de. phyir. khyod. kyis. 'gro. 'di. dag ।
yoṅs. su. brtags. pa. las. byuṅ. bar ।
kun. tu. śes. bya. 'byuṅ. ba. na'ṅ ।
skye. ba. med. ci. 'gag. med. gsuṅs ॥ 17 ॥
rtag. la. 'khor. ba. yod. ma. yin ।
mi. rtag. pa. la'ṅ. khor. ba. med ।
[5] de. ñid. rig. pa'i. mchog. khyod. kyis ।
'khor. ba. rmi. lam. 'dra. bar. gsuṅs ॥ 18 ॥[13]

10 See Skt. text and Tib. of *BCP* (Mdo. La. 317 *b* 6):

dṅos. po. yod. pa. mi. skye. źiṅ ।
med. pa. yod. ma. yin. yod. med. min ।
raṅ. las. min. gźan. las. min ।
gñig. las. min. ji. ltar. skye .źes ॥

In *b* omit the first *yod* as the sense requires, and the metre demands. In *c* one syllable is less.

11 X *med.*

12 See Skt. text. *MA*, p. 97, ll. 9-12:

sa. bon. źig. daṅ. ma. źig. las ।
myu.gu. 'byuṅ. ba. ma. yin. pas ।
khyod. kyis. skye. ba. thams. cad. ni ।
sgyu. ma. 'byuṅ. ba. bźin. du. gsuṅs ॥

Ślokas 16 and 17 occur in the original Skt. of *BCP*, p. 533, but are omitted by its Tib. Translator in Mdo. La. fol. 291

13 See Skt. text. It is cited in the Skt. text of *BCP*. but omitted in its Tib. translation. Mdo, La, fol, 291.

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• sdug. bsṅal. raṅ. gis. byas. pa. daṅ ।
gźan. gyis. byas. daṅ. gñis. kas. byas ।
rgyu. med. par. ni. rtog. ge. 'dod ।
khyod. kyi. brten. nas 'byuṅ. bar. gsuṅs ॥ 19 ॥[14]
• rten. ciṅ. 'brel. bar. [6] gaṅ. 'byuṅ. ba ।
de. ñid. khyod. ni. stoṅ. par. bźed ।
dṅos. po. raṅ. dbaṅ. yod. min. źes ।
mñam. med. khyod. kyi, seṅ. ge. sgra ॥ 20 ॥[15]
• kun. rtog. thams. cad. spaṅs. p'ai. phyir ।
stoṅ. ñid. bdud. rtsi. ston. mdzad. na ।
gaṅ. źig. de. la. źen. gyur. pa ।
de. ñid. khyod. kyis. śin. [7] tu. Spaṅ ॥ 21 ॥[16]
• bems. po. gźan. dbaṅ. stoṅ. pa. ñid ।
sgyu. ma. bźin. du. rkyen. 'byuṅ. bar ।
mgon. po. khyod. kyis. chos. kun. gyi ।

14 See Skt. text, and Tib. of *MV* (Mdo, 'a fol. 20 *a*. 6, and 88 *b*, 1):
sdug. bsṅal. raṅ. gis. byas. pa. daṅ ।
gźan. gyis. byas. daṅ. gñi. gas. byas ।
rgyu. med. rtog. ge, pa. yis. 'dod ।
khyod. kyis. brten. nas. 'byuṇ. bar. gsuṅs ॥
The only variation on fol. 88b. is that there is *bdag* for *raṅ* in *a*.

15 See Skt. text and Tib. of *BCP* (Mdo. La. fol. 239 *a*. 4 5):
gaṅ. źig. rten. ciṅ. 'brel. bar. 'byuṅ ।
de. ñid. khyod. ni. stoṅ. par. bźed ।
dṅos. po. raṅ. dbaṅ. can. med. ces ॥
khyod. kyi. seṅ. gaṅ. sgra. mtshaṅs. med ॥

16 See Skt. text and Tib. of *BCP*., in Mdo. La. fols. (1) 213 *a*. 6, and (2) 238 *a*. 5; and of (3) *MA*., p. 310, ll. 12-15. The variations are noted below:
(1) *d, smad* for *spaṅ*.
(2) *a, rram* for *kun*.
b, bstan. pa. yin for *stoṅ. mdzad. na*.
c, 'dzin. pa. yaṅ for *źen. gyur. pa*.
d, spaṅs. pa. lags for *śin. tu. spaṅ*.
(3) *a, gźom. pa'i. phyir* for *spaṅs. pai. phir*.
b. bstan. pa. mdzad. for *ston. mdzad. na*.
c, gaṅ. la for *gaṅ. źig*; *'dzin. yod. pa* for *źen. gyur. pa*.
d. smad. par. mdzad for *śin. tu. spaṅs*.

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dṅos. med. goms. par. mdzad. pa. lags ‖ 22 ‖[17]
khyod. kyis. cuṅ. źig. ma. bskyed. ciṅ ।
'ga.' yaṅ. bkag. pa. ma. mchis. la ।
[77 *a*. 1] sṅon. gyi. ji. ltar. phyis. de. bźin ।
de. bźin. ñid. ni. thugs. su. chud ‖ 23 ‖
'phags. pa. rnamr. kyis[s]. brten. ba. yi ।
bsgoms. ma. źugs. par. mtshan. med. 'di ।
... ...
rnam. par. śes. par. 'ga' 'gyur. ram ‖ 24 ‖[18]
mtshan. ma. med. la. ma. źugs. par ।
[2] thar. pa. med. ces. gsuṅs. pa'i. phyir ।
de. phyir. khyod. kyis. theg. chen. rnams ।
ma. lus. par. ni. de. ñid. bstan ‖ 25 ‖[19]
bstod. pa'i. snod. khyod. bstod. pa. las ।
bdag. gi[s]. bsod. nams. gaṅ. thob. pa ।
des. ni. 'gro. ba. ma. lus. rnams ।
mtshan, ma'i. 'chiṅ. las. grol. [3] gyur. cig ‖ 26 ‖
'jig. rten. las. 'das. bar. bstod. pa. slob. dpon. 'phags. pa. klu.
sgrub. kyis. mdzad. pa. dzogs. so ‖
rgya. gar. gyi. mkhan, po. kri. ṣṇa. pa. ṇḍi. ta. daṅ la. tsā.'
ba. tshul. khrims. rgyal. bas. bsgyur. ciṅ. źus. te ।
gtan. la. phab. pa'o ‖[20]

PRABHUBHAI PATEL

17 See note, Skt. text and Tib. of *BCP*. (Mdo. La, (fol. 272 *a* 7):
dbaṅ. dp'a. med. pa. stoṅ. pa. ñid ।
sgyu. ma. bźin. du. rkyen. las. 'byuṅ ।
mgon. po. khyod. kyi[s]. chos. rnams. ni ।
raṅ. bźin. med. par. rab. tu. bstan ‖

18 Here *c* is missing, and so the śloka is in complete.

19 See note, Skt. text.

20 The following abbreviations are used in the present paper :
AS – Advayavajrasaṅgraha, Gækwad Oriental Series.
BCP = Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā, Bibliotheca Indica.
MA = Madhyamakāvatāra, Tib. Text. Bibliotheca Buddhica.
MV = Madhyamakavṛtti, Bibliotheca Buddhica.
PK = Pañcakrama, edited by Prof. Poussin.

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Some Images and Traces of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Chittagong

In 1927 I went to Chittagong. There I was very kindly invited by the Aggamahāpaṇḍita Dhammavaṃsa Mahāthera of the well-known Buddhist monastery of the place to pay a visit to the institution, which I did gladly. In the monastery, I was shown among other interesting articles a few Mahāyānic images collected by the Aggamahāpaṇḍita. On enquiry, I was informed that they had been collected from several localities within the district of Chittagong and were discovered at varying depths below the surface of the ground. The Aggamahāpaṇḍita was good enough to furnish me with photographs of the images, some of which are reproduced here, along with the particulars about their find-spots. The identification of the images, well-known as they are, needs no remarks. But I feel that they should be made known to scholars interested in Buddhism, as they may throw some light on the history of Buddhism in the district of Chittagong. The following is the list of the images (which except one are all metallic) with particulars about their find-spots:

I [Plate I (a)]—Figure of (Vajrāsana) Gautama Buddha, 7½″ in height, seated cross-legged in *Bhūmisparśamudrā* with a *vajra* on the seat. The base contains the following inscription in characters of 11th-12th cent. A.D.

ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुन्तेषान्तथागतो ह्यवदत्। तेषाञ्च यो
निरोध एवम्वादी महाश्रमणः देयधर्मोयं धर्मांकस्य मातापित्रो ... ...

Procured from Thakurpuni Temple (Paṭiyā) where it was removed from a *dargā* in South Raozan (Kāukhāli).

II [Plate I (b)]—Figure of (Vajrāsana) Gautama Budha, 7¼″ in height, seated cross-legged in *Bhūmisparśamudrā* with a *vajra* on the seat. The base contains two lines of inscription in characters of 11th-12th cent. A.D.:

देय धर्मोयं प्रवर महायानिनः.....(the remainder not legible).

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III Figure of Gautama Buddha in *Bhūmisparśamudrā*, 4¼" in height, seated cross-legged. Procured from Mirasarai (Chittagong).

IV [Plate (c)]—Figure of Gautama Buddha, 3¾" in height, seated cross-legged in *Bhūmisparśamudrā*. It has the mark of a circular seal on the back containing the Buddhist formula:

ये धर्मा हेतुप्र। भवा हे??न्त। यागतो ह्यवदत् ते। (यों) यो निरोध। एवं वादी महाश्रमणः॥

(5 lines in characters of 11th-12th cent. A.D.) Procured from Satbaria, P.S. Patiyā, Chittagong.

V Figure of Gautama Buddha, 3½" high, seated cross-legged in *Vyakhyānamudrā* (preaching posture). Procured from Satbaria, P.S. Patiyā, Chittagong.

VI Figure of Gautama Buddha, 9" high, seated cross-legged in *Bhūmisparśamudrā*.

VII Figure of Gautama Buddha, 8¼" high, seated cross-legged in *Bhūmisparśamudrā*.

VIII Standing Gautama Buddha, 6" high, the right hand in the *abhaya* pose and the left in *varada*.

IX [Plate II (a)]—Figure of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Padmapāṇi) in *Lalitāsana* (the right leg hanging down), left hand bearing a lotus with stem. It is 6" high. A Dhyānī Buddha appears on the head-dress. The base contains the following inscription:—

देय धर्मोयं। श्रीभरीत (?) क। ... ...

Procured from Tekota, P.S. Patiyā.

X [Plate II (b)]—Figure of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, 8¾" in height, seated in easy posture (अर्द्धपर्यङ्कासन) with a *Sanāla Utpala* in the left hand. In the head-dress is represented the Dhyānī Buddha Akṣobhya in the earth-touching attitude (भूमिस्पर्शमुद्रा). On the base occurs the following inscription:—

..... १ देयधर्मोयं तिगिरीकस्य in characters of the 11th cent. A.D.

Procured from the monastery of North Joara (Patiyā).

XI [Plate III (a)]—Figure of the Buddhist god of riches, Jambhala, 4¼" in height, the right hand holding a citron and the left hand a

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I [Plate I (a)]—Figure of (Vajrāsana) Gautama Buddha, $7\frac{1}{2}''$ in height, seated cross-legged in *Bhūmisparśamudrā* with a *vajra* on the seat. The base contains the following inscription in characters of 11th-12th cent. A.D.

ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुन्तेषान्तथागतो ह्यवदत्। तेषाञ्च यो
निरोध एवम्वादी महाश्रमणः देयधर्मोयं धर्माकस्य मातापित्रो ... ...

Procured from Thakurpuni Temple (Paṭiyā) where it was removed from a *dargā* in South Raozan (Kāukhāli).

II [Plate I (b)]—Figure of (Vajrāsana) Gautama Budha, $7\frac{1}{4}''$ in height, seated cross-legged in *Bhūmisparśamudrā* with a *vajra* on the seat. The base contains two lines of inscription in characters of 11th-12th cent. A.D.:

देय धर्मोयं प्रवर महायायिनः.....(the remainder not legible).

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III Figure of Gautama Buddha in *Bhūmisparśamudrā*, 4¼″ in height, seated cross-legged. Procured from Mirasarai (Chittagong).

IV [Plate (c)]—Figure of Gautama Buddha, 3¾″ in height, seated cross-legged in *Bhūmisparśamudrā*. It has the mark of a circular seal on the back containing the Buddhist formula:

ये धर्मा हेतुप्र। भवा हे??न्त। यागतो ह्यवदत् ते। (यों) यो निरोध। एवं वादी महाश्रमणः॥

(5 lines in characters of 11th-12th cent. A.D.) Procured from Satbaria, P.S. Patiyā, Chittagong.

V Figure of Gautama Buddha, 3½″ high, seated cross-legged in *Vyakhyānamudrā* (preaching posture). Procured from Satbaria, P.S. Patiyā, Chittagong.

VI Figure of Gautama Buddha, 9″ high, seated cross-legged in *Bhūmisparśamudrā*.

VII Figure of Gautama Buddha, 8¼″ high, seated cross-legged in *Bhūmisparśamudrā*.

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IX [Plate II (a)]—Figure of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Padmapāṇi) in *Lalitāsana* (the right leg hanging down), left hand bearing a lotus with stem. It is 6″ high. A Dhyānī Buddha appears on the head-dress. The base contains the following inscription:—

देय धर्मोयं। श्रीभरीत (?) क। ... ...

Procured from Tekota, P.S. Patiyā.

X [Plate II (b)]—Figure of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, 8¾″ in height, seated in easy posture (अर्द्धपर्यङ्कासन) with a *Sanāla Utpala* in the left hand. In the head-dress is represented the Dhyānī Buddha Akṣobhya in the earth-touching attitude (भूमिस्पर्शमुद्रा). On the base occurs the following inscription:—

..... १ देयधर्मोयं तिगिरीकस्य in characters of the 11th cent. A.D.

Procured from the monastery of North Joara (Patiyā).

XI [Plate III (a)]—Figure of the Buddhist god of riches, Jambhala, 4¼″ in height, the right hand holding a citron and the left hand a

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mongoose. The god is pot-bellied. The base contains a few purses full of coins. Procured from Bhandargaon, P.S. Paṭyā.

XII [Plate III (b)]—Figure of Tārā in *Lalitāsana*, 5″ in height, left hand holding a lotus and right hand a (?) Procured from Mirasarai, Chittagong.

XIII (a) [Plate IV (a)]—*Black chlorite stone* figure of Tārā seated in *Lalitāsana*, the right hand in *varada* pose and the left hand bearing a *Sanāla Utpala*. A stūpa on the right side above. The base contains 2 lions couchant on two sides and a pair of devotees in the middle. It is 7″ in height.

XIII (b) [Plate IV (b)]—On the back of the above are inserted six lines of inscription:—

ये धर्मा हेतुप्र-। भा हेन्तुं तेषा ऽन्त। यागतः एवं वालि (?) जो निरोध। बुद्ध धर्म। महा (म?) थमः॥ १ देयधर्मोयं माया। शवः॥ काड इन्द॥

The date indicated by a chronogram (under the कटपयादि system) appears to be 1308 *Saka*=1386 A.D. Procured from Udayapur, Hill Tippera State.

From the palæographic point of view, the images belong to the 11th or 12th century A.D. Artistically they may be attributed to the Eastern School of Art which flourished in Bengal and Behar from the 9th to the 13th century. In physiognomical characteristics, specially the facial, they bear a close resemblance to similar images unearthed at Sārnāth and Nālandā, the frontiers of Assam, and the hills of Arakan. Though there are striking similarities between some of the images e.g. those of Tārā, Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī found at Chittagong and those of Nālandā, Vikrampur (Bengal) and elsewhere, there are other images which indicate the hand of local artists, who had inherited the artistic tradition of the Eastern School of Art. The lack of liveliness in the facial and physiognomical expressions, the static poses, the rigidity in the treatment of the curls of hair and the folds of the *saṅghāṭī*, in short, a dullness noticeable in the general treatment leaves no doubt in our minds that they are productions of local artists with poor accomplishments aiming to produce replicas of what they saw elsewhere.

Topographically the images can be divided into two classes:

(i) those found in the Paṭiyā sub-division, viz., the images of

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meditating Buddhas in Bhūmisparśamudrā, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Jambhala, and

(ii) those found at Mirasarai (near Sitakund) and in the Hill Tippera State, viz. the images of Buddha and the goddess Tārā.

I-VII. Of the seven (vajrāsana) images of Buddha, in the sitting posture, six have one of their hands pointing to the earth as witness (Bhūmisparśamudrā) and one has two hands put together in the preaching attitude (vyākhyānamudrā). The eighth image of Buddha is in the standing posture, with the right hand in *abhaya* (protection from fear) pose and the left hand in *varada* (gift-bestowing). These images may very well belong to either Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna but it is quite clear that they form a distinct group and show wide divergence in facial features and general treatment from the stone and bronze images which began to be imported into Chittagong from Burma direct or through Arakan. Artistically, they belong to the Bengal School of Art. On the bases of two of the images (figs. I and II) and on the back of another image [Pl. IV (b)] appears, though imperfectly and in incorrect Sanskrit, the undermentioned versified formula of the law of causation which appears at the end of almost all the important Mahāyāna works:

ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुन्तेषां तथागतो।
ह्यवदत्तेषां च यो निरोध एवंवादी महाश्रमणः॥

(*Mahāvastu*, III, p. 461)

The corrupt Sanskrit of the inscriptions clearly shows that the donors wanted to have the formula reproduced in Sanskrit. Then again, the expressions *deyadharmo'yam; deyadharmo'yam pravaramahāyāyinaḥ;* and *deyadharmo'yam Tigirikasya* show that the donors used Sanskrit and not Pāli. On the base of more than a dozen of the images found at Sārnāth appear exactly the above-mentioned expressions, e.g., *deyadharmo'yaṃ Skandavarṇasya* or *Dhanadevasya* or *Kumārayuptasya* (*Sārnāth Catalogue*, pp. 41, 44, 66); *deya-Śākyabhikṣor-Buddhapriyasya* or *Śrīvinaya*...or *Bandhuguptasya* (*Ibid.*, pp. 53, 68, 69). Still more striking is the agreement of the inscription *deyadharmo'yaṃ pravaramhāyāyinaḥ* [Fig. II] with that on some of the Sārnāth images, in which the wordings are: *deyadharmo'yaṃ mahāyāyinaḥ paramopāsaka* (*Sārnāth Catalogue*, p. 135) or *deyadharmo' yam pravaramahā-*

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yānānuyāyī paramopāsaka Māyadhīya Śrī Śāmaṅkasya (*Ibid.*, p. 123). Inscriptions of this nature are found only on the images of the Gupta period and not on those of the earlier. The similarity enables us to draw the inference that these Chittagong images represent also the same period as that of the Sārnāth images, and the type of Buddhism that prevailed at Sārnāth. They also prove that the donors could not have belonged to the School of Buddhism prevailing at present at Chittagong; hence the seven images of Buddha are, in fact, relics of the old school of Buddhism followed by at least some families in Chittagong.

IX. The ninth image is that of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva who has taken the vow that he will not have Bodhi until all beings have attained the same. He is the incarnation of compassion and is always anxious to help the people in distress. It is really the image of Khaṣarpaṇa Avalokiteśvara, the characteristics of which are described thus in the *Sādhanamālā* (translated in the *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 37):

'His person is as resplendent as the rays of a crore of moons; he wears the crown of chignon, bears the image of Amitābha on head, and sits on the moon over the double lotus in the Ardhaparyaṅka attitude; his body is decked in all ornaments; he has a smiling face, is aged about twice eight years, exhibits the Varada pose in the right hand and holds the lotus with a stem in the left'.

The image under discussion cannot be said to have been executed with all the details required by the *Sādhanamālā*, but yet it reveals an effort to produce the Khaṣarpaṇa form of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. It may be compared with the image of Khaṣarpaṇa discovered by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali in the Vikrampur Pergana of East Bengal. (For its representation, see *Buddhist Iconography*, plate XXI).

As Avalokiteśvara is said to have been an emanation of the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha, the image should bear on its crown the representation of Amitābha. In the crown of the present image also there appears a Dhyānī Buddha, which evidently should be of Amitābha.

X. The tenth image is of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva who occupies the same place in the Mahāyāna tradition as Ānanda in the Hīnayāna. He represents knowledge, i.e. Buddhist scriptures which dispel ignorance. In many of the faith-arousing Mahāyāna-sūtras, Mañjuśrī

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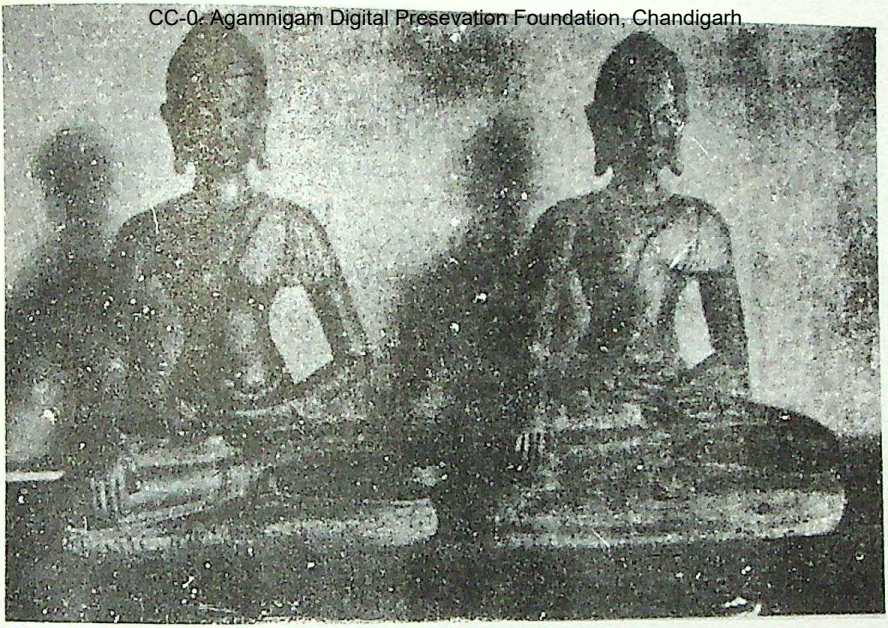

I. (Vajrāsana) Gautama Buddha

II. (Vajrāsana) Gautama Buddha

IV. (Paryaṅkāsana) Gautama Buddha

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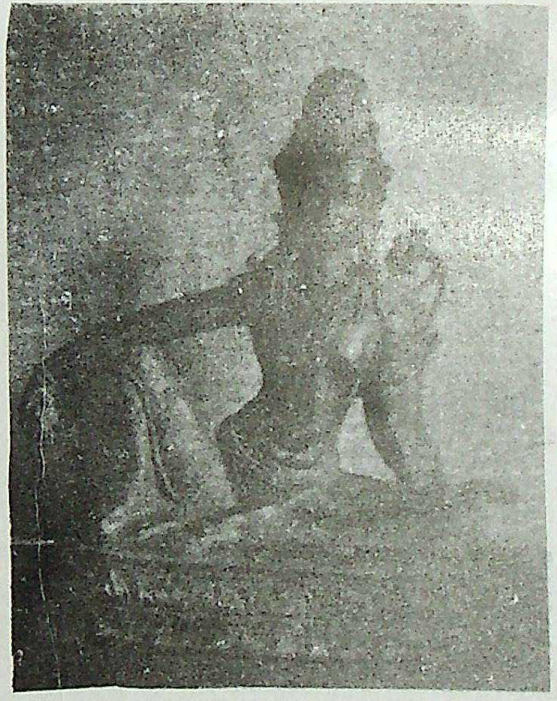
(a)

IX. Avalokiteśvara



X. Mañjuśri

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(a)

XI. Jambhala

(b)

XII Tārā (Lalitāsana)

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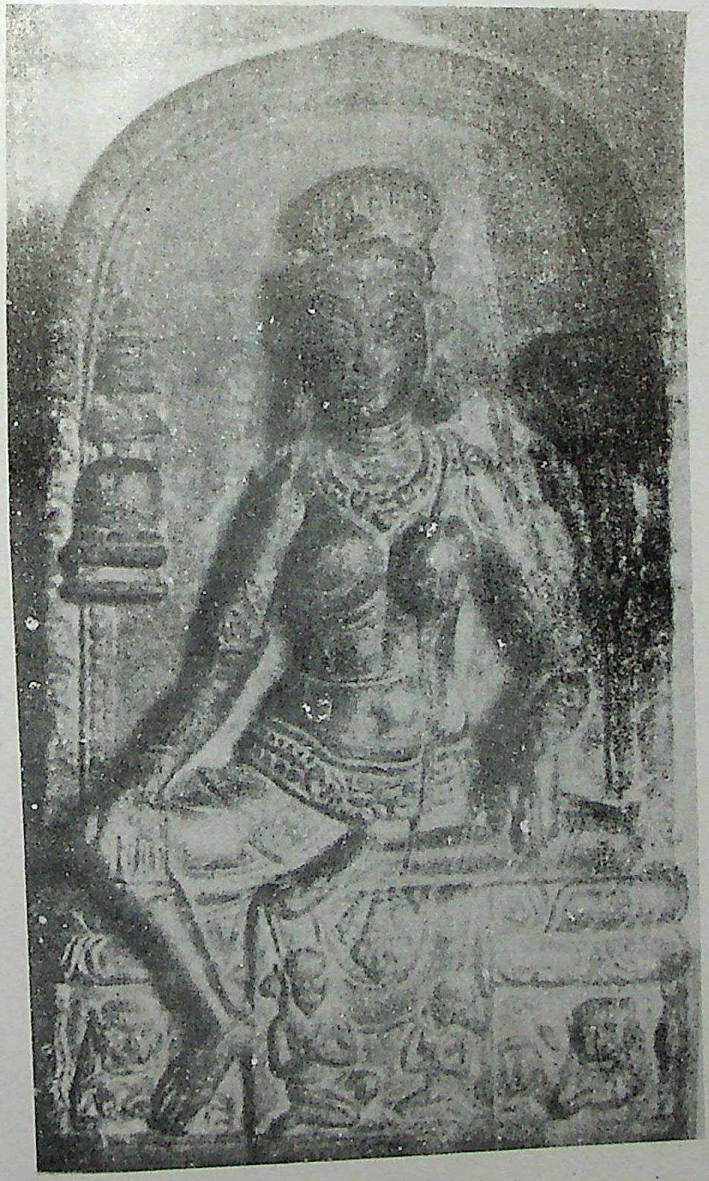
PLATE IV



XIII [illegible]

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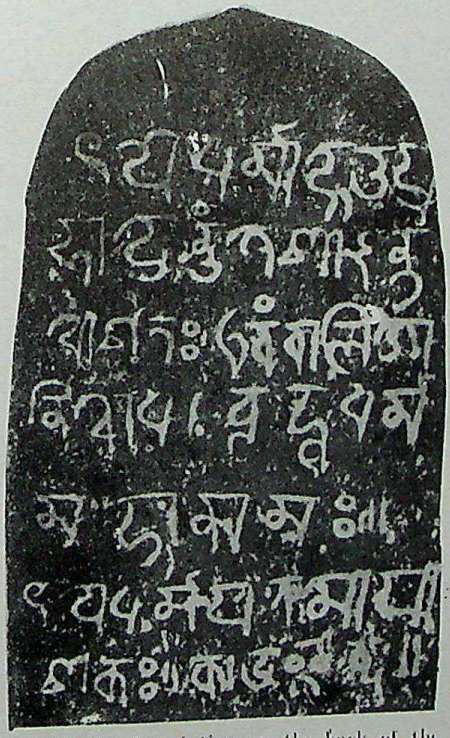
PLATE IV

(b)



XIII (b) Inscription on the back of the image of Tārā [XIII (a)]

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appears as the interlocutor. According to the tradition, it was at his instance that many Mahāyāna-sūtras were delivered by the Teacher. He is said to have been an emanation of Akṣobhya, and as such his images should bear on the crown the image of the Dhyānī Buddha Akṣobhya. The present image also bears one such figure on the crown. It may well be compared with the image in the Indian Museum reproduced by Dr. Bhattacharya in his *Buddhist Iconography* (plate XIV) over the title Mahārājalīla Mañjuśrī and by Mr. Havell in his *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (plate XI) over the title Avalokiteśvara (?).

XI. The eleventh image is of Jambhala, the Buddhist god of wealth. There are some differences of opinion about the Dhyānī Buddha from whom he emanated. It may be Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhva, or any other Dhyānī-Buddha. The present image shows similarity with those images of Jambhala which have been found in Nepal and Vikrampur (Bengal). Dr. Bhattacharya assigns them, according to the direction of the *Sādhanamālā* (*Buddhist Iconography*, p. 113), to the emanations of Ratnasambhava. The direction given in the *Sādhanamālā* for making an image of Jambhala is as follows:

"When single, Jambhala is of golden complexion and carries the monogoose in the left hand and the citron in the right". (*Bl.*, p. 114). The present image complies with these requirements.

XII & XIII. The twelfth and the thirteenth images are those of the goddess Tārā.

The stone image of Tārā preserved in the Indian Museum (Calcutta) has also her right hand in the *varada* pose and the left hand with a stemmed lotus. Havell remarks that its "austerity of outlook, simplicity of rhythm and robust technique remind us of the sculpture of the Gupta period". Artistically the present image seems to excel the one examined by Havell but cannot stand comparison in the high polish and fine execution of the metal images of Tārā of the Nepali-Tibetan School or the Prajñāpāramitā image of Java now at Leiden (See Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Paintings*, plates XIII, XIV and XV).

The conception of Divine Mother has always made a strong appeal to the Indian mind, and in most of the sculptures and paintings of female figures, it is the conception of Mother that has found prominence. Of all the Buddhist deities, the conception of Tārā has worked

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more into the hearts of the people than any Bodhisattva, be he an incarnation of compassion, or knowledge. Though everything else of Mahāyāna Buddhism has been effaced from Chittagong, Tārā still exists in the memory of every Buddhist householder, who, unaware of her history, utters her name whenever he invokes the Buddha by the utterance of Phra Tārā Saṅgha (see *infra*, pp. 340-341).

The history of the evolution of the Tārā conception has been dealt with by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Pandit Girishchandra Vedāntatīrtha and Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya. It will suffice here to say that Tārā is really the personification of Prajñā, more correctly *Prajñāpāramitā*, which alone can turn a Bodhisattva into Buddha. In the Mahāyāna philosophy, *Prajñā* is sometimes identified with Śūnyatā or the highest truth, and as everything issues out of, or more correctly is, if anything, an appearance of Śūnyatā, Buddhas or Bodhisattvas are nothing but the emanations of Prajñā. The literature dealing with the Śūnyatā philosophy is called *Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra*. So Prajñā represents in short the highest truth as well as the literature (dharma) which inculcates that truth. In the early days of Mahāyāna Buddhism, there were not wanting poetical compositions in which the abstract notion of knowledge was deified. The first few verses given in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, and *Pañcaviṃśtisāhasrikā* reveal how this deification started:

ॐ नमो भगवत्यै आर्य्य प्रज्ञापारमितायै ॥
निर्विकल्पे नमस्तुभ्यं प्रज्ञापारमितोऽमिते ।
... ...
पोषिका जनयित्री च माता त्वमसि वत्सला ॥
यद्बुद्धा लोकगुरवः पुत्रास्तवः कृपालवः ।
तेन त्वमसि कल्याणि सर्वसत्वपितामही ॥
... ...
छद्मबोधासि मायेव दृश्यसे न च दृश्यसे ॥
बुद्धैः प्रत्येक बुद्धैश्च श्रावकैश्च निषेविता ॥[1]

The transition from the abstract notion of truth, as expressed in the salutatory verses, to the conception of *Prajñāpāramitā* as the Divine

1 Cf. *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*, Śiva addressing Pārvatī in the verses:

त्वमाद्या सर्वविद्यानामस्माकमपि जन्मभूः ।
त्वं जानासि जगत् सर्व्वं न त्वां जानाति कश्चन ॥

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Mdther (see *BI.*, pp. 84-86), was an easy one. In Java there has already been found an image (Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, pl. XIV, pp. 84-86; *Buddhist Iconography*, pls. XXVII, XXXVI c) known as *Prajñāpāramitā*. The *Tārārahasyavṛttikā* and other *Tāntric* works also give the appellation of Prajñāpāramitā to the goddess Tārā.

It may be safely stated that by the time Mahāyānism reached Bengal (about the ninth century) it had already had a long career, which converted the abstract notion of *Prajñā* into the goddess Prajñāpāramitā and thence into Tārā. So when Bengal received its Buddhism, the conception of Tārā had become common and she represented and replaced the Dharma of the Buddhist Trinity. Once she was turned into a goddess, the Divine Mother, there was no end of the various forms in which she began to be worshipped (for a detailed account, see *BI.*, pp. 37ff.).

All these images are undoubtedly reminiscent of a Mahāyānic religious wave that passed over Chittagong 8 or 9 centuries ago. The fact that there has not been found at Chittagong any old temple or site which may be pointed out as a permanent place of worship of the Mahāyānists constrains us to conclude that there were only stray families or teachers at Chittagong who professed the Mahāyānic faith. It is not improbable that they were mostly settlers hailing from Kāmākhyā and Orissa which had become important centres of Tantric Buddhism from the 9th or the 10th century A.D. It may also be surmised that there were ancient Buddhist temples at Chittagong and that they were later on converted into Hindu temples or places of worship, the Buddha being made a Śiva and the goddess Tārā a Pārvatī or Kālī.[2] The Buddhists of Chittagong even now pay annual visits to Candranātha hill where a temple of Śiva has been erected by the Hindus in later times.[3]

Most of the images show a close affinity with those of Nepal in art

2 In the *Sivaśaktisaṅgamatantra* "Akṣobhya (Buddha) is put down as a synonym of Śiva, and Tārā of Śakti". Dr. Hirananda Sastri, *Origin and Culture of Tārā*, p. 13.

3 The Śiva temple stands a few feet apart from the ruins (very likely the base of an old Buddhist temple) which form the object of worship of the Chittagong Buddhists.

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and technique, proving thereby that they belong to that Eastern School of Art which reached Nepal from Bengal. Tāranātha suggests that this transmission took place in the 9th century, when king Devapāla was the ruler of Bengal. The time of Devapāla is usually taken to be in the 9th century A.D. and the period of his reign witnessed the highest development of Bengal-Magadhan art (*Bāṅglār Itihās*, I, p. 206). His name has come down to us as a patron of Buddhism, and of the Nālandā University. Without attempting to be definite with regard to the time of the introduction of Mahāyāna Buddhism into Chittagong, it would not be wide of the mark to conclude on the basis of the marked affinity of the images with those found at Nālandā and other Mahāyānic centres including Nepal that the form of Buddhism which the Pāla kings of Bengal supported reached Chittagong during the ascendancy of the Pāla dynasty. At the same time it cannot be stated that this later phase of Mahāyānic Buddhism did not leave any mark on the beliefs and customs of the people in the district of Chittagong. Of these marks the following are worth mentioning:

Even at the present day, most of the Buddhist villages within the paṭiyā sub-division in Chittagong have a small piece of land set apart for the worship of the goddess called by them *Mā Magadheśvarī*. They do not set up any image there but they have a fixed time and special mantras to perform the worship, and one of the peculiar features of this worship is that the officiating priest is invariably a Buddhist layman. This practice of worshipping a goddess unknown in Hīnayāna cannot but be a relic of the Mahāyānic worship of goddesses.

Then there is the other tradition within living memory that the Buddhists formally worshipped Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning. The Chittagong Buddhists were and still are under the impression that they were worshipping a Hindu goddess. But the fact is that Sarasvatī is as much a Buddhist goddess as a Hindu at least from after the date of the *Sādhanamālā*. In this Buddhist work, she is counted as one of the most widely worshipped goddesses of the Buddhist pantheon and is believed to "confer wisdom, learning, intelligence, memory, etc." (*BI.*, p. 150). It may therefore be stated that the Chittagong Buddhist continued up to recent times the

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worship of the goddess Sarasvatī, a remnant of a Mahāyānic religious practice of the 11th century A.D.

Another remarkable trace of this mediæval form of Buddhism is found in the custom of the believing Buddhists of Chittagong uttering *Phra Tārā Saṅgha* when they start on a journey, go to bed or apprehend any evil. Mr. S. C. Das writes in the *Chittagong District Gazetteer* (p. 65) that *Phra Tārā* means *Ārya Tārā*, *Phra* being the Burmese equivalent of *Ārya*. *Phra* in Burmese also refers to 'Buddha'; hence, I think, *Phra Tārā Saṅgha* means Buddha, Tārā and Saṅgha. Now Tārā evidently here stands for Dharma, and we have seen before that Tārā is nothing but the personification of the *Prajñā-pāramitā* representing the Mahāyānic dharma.

It is remarkable that the Chittagong Buddhists were at one time the worshippers of Tārā of Mahāyāna (Tantric) Buddhism. In the seventeenth century, when with the decay of Buddhism in Bengal, the Buddhists of Chittagong were about to be Hinduised and actually began to worship the Hindu deities (*Chittagong District Gazetteer*, p. 68), the great Buddhist priest of Arakan, Saṅgha Rājā (derived, I think, from Saṅgharāja = the leader of the Buddhist Saṅgha of Arakan) came to Chittagong on his way back to Arakan from Bodh-Gaya (*Chittagong District Gazetteer*, p. 67). At this time, a communication was established between Arakan and Chittagong, and there were both immigrations and emigrations. This Arakanese Saṅgha Rājā, who knew nothing but Hīnayāna Buddhism as prevailing in Burma and Arakan, was averse to the Tantric religion followed by the Chittagong Buddhists, and by his great personal influence gave a turn to the decadent Budhism by persuading the people to follow his own sect. As a matter of course, the Arakan-Burmese Buddhism came to be super-imposed on the original Bengal Buddhism, and in course of time with the disappearance of good teachers of the Bengal School, the Arakan-Burmese school prevailed upon the people of Chittagong and made them out-and-out followers of the type of Hīnayāna Buddhism prevailing in Ceylon and Burma.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

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The Buddhist Manuscripts at Gilgit

The title of the Ms.

The second manuscript examined by me is written in the calligraphic Gupta characters very similar to those in the first manuscript.[1] The characters are much more legibly written, though their size is comparatively smaller. It is also a birchbark manuscript containing 41 leaves and on each leaf there are 5 lines. The title of the book as stated at the end of the ms. is *Bhaiṣajyaguru nāma mahāyānasūtra* (leaf 40 b). In the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* it is called *Bhaiṣajyaguru vaidūrya-prabha-rāja-sūtra*, while in its Tibetan version (Rgyud. Tha., pp. 470 ff), the Sanskrit title is *Ārya-Bhagavato-Bhaiṣjyaguru-Vaidūryaprabhasya Pūrvapraṇidhāna-viśeṣa-vistara nāma mahāyāna-sūtra* (phags. pa bcom. ldan hdas. smon-gyi bla vai. du. ryaḥi ḥod-kyi sṅon-gyi smon-lam gyi khyad. par rgyas. pa shes. bya. ba theg. pa chen. poḥi mdo). The Tibetan title though too long for the title of a book is not without a basis for we have on leaf 2 the following passage, in which Mañjuśrī requests Buddha to deliver the sūtra:

देशयतु भगवांस्तेषां तथागतानां नामधेयानि पूर्वप्रणिधानविशेषविस्तरविभङ्गम् ।

(Preach O Bhagavan, in full details, the excellent resolutions that were made previously by the Tathāgatas).

The object of the whole work is to relate the great resolutions (*mahāpranidhānas*) made by each of the seven Buddhas, and the effect of such resolutions. This section deals with the resolutions of the Buddha called Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūrya-prabharāja. In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*, (p. 470), Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata are described as sons of king Subhavyūha and are repeatedly mentioned as highly meritorious bodhisattvas, but it is difficult to say whether any of these bodhisattvas became later on the Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūrya-prabharāja, for in the Chinese version of this *sūtra* the former names appear as bodhisattvas. If these Bodhisattvas have been elevated to Buddhahood, it must have been done posterior to the time of compilation

1 For an account of the first Ms., see *IHQ.*, VIII, pp. 93ff.

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of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the date of which may be placed in the 1st century A.D.

In a paper contributed to the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d' Extreme-Orient*, (vol. III, 1903, pp. 33-37),[2] Prof. Paul Pelliot has dealt with the Chinese versions of this work. He writes:—"The Bhaiṣajyaguru is one of the most popular Buddhas in China, Japan and Tibet. His name in Chinese is *Yao-che lieou-li-kouang-jou-lai*, (Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabha). The restoration of the original name is guaranteed by the dhāraṇī transcribed phonetically in the *sūtra* consecrated to the glory of Bhaiṣajyaguru. The Sanskrit text of the sūtra has not been discovered, but it exists in more than one translations in Chinese".

Its Chinese translations

From the Chinese and Tibetan translations we learn that the present work is the last chapter of the book dealing with the great vows (mahāpraṇidhāna) of the seven past Buddhas. In view of the fact that this last chapter have independent translations both in Chinese and Tibetan, and also of the fact that quotations from this chapter only appear in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, it may be stated that this particular chapter, containing the vows of Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabharāja, attained the greatest popularity.

About the Chinese translation of this chapter, Prof. Pelliot furnishes us with the following information: "The 12th or the last, and undoubtedly, the oldest chapter of *Fo-chouo-ta-kouan-ting-chen-tcheou-king*[3] was translated by Śrīmitra between 317 and 322 A.D.; it should, however, be observed that certain catalogues mention only nine chapters of the translation of Śrīmitra; in any case, it comprised 12 chapters at the time of the compilation of the *K'ai yuan che kiao lou*[4] in 730 A.D. Among the independent translations, it appears that the

2 I should thank Dr. P. C. Bagchi for drawing my attention to this article. In my translation of the portions of this French article, I have retained the method adopted by the French writers in transliterating Chinese words.

3 Nanjio (167) remarks under this book that it is in 12 fasciculi, "each fasc. contains a *sūtra* with its own title, so that this is a collection of 12 *sūtras*."

4 "Catalogue of books on the teaching of Śākyamuni."

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first is that of Houei-kien entitled *Yao-che-licou-li-kouny-king* and dated 457 A.D. It was mentioned in 597 in the (catalogue) *Li-tai-san-pao-ki*[5] and about 664 in the *Ta-t'ang-nei-tien-lou*[6] but it disappeared at the time of the compilation of *K'ai yuan che kiao lou* (730). The translation of Dharmagupta executed in 615 still exists (Nanjio, 170); it is called *Fo chouo yao che jou lai pen yuan king* (Bhaiṣajyaguru-tathāgata-pūrva-praṇidhāna). It is to this that reference has been made in the preface entitled *Yao che jou lai pen yuan kong tö king siu*, which preface in the Japanese Tripiṭaka has been placed by mistake at the beginning of the translation of the sūtra of Bhaiṣajyaguru made later on by Yi-tsing. The author of this preface was one of the collaborators of Dharmagupta. It is curious that he does not mention *Fo-chouo-kouan-ting-king* (Nanjio, 167) or the translation of Śrīmitra. He speaks only about the many inaccuracies in the translation of Kien-houei. The text adopted by Dharmagupta, on the contrary, was based on three mss. and the translation was accepted after three revisions. But this translation of Dharmagupta, although it is still extant, has been eclipsed by that of Hiuan-tsang, entitled *Yao-che-lieou-li-kouang-jou-lai-pen-yuan-kong-tö-king* (Nanjio 171= *Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūrya-prabhāsa-pūrva-praṇidhāna-guṇa-sūtra*), and is dated 650. It is this translation that was entirely copied by the emperor K'ang-hi by his own hand in 1695 and it is this that has been partially reproduced in the *T'ou-chou-tsi-tch'eng*. This is assuredly the most popular in China. The three translations of Śrīmitra, of Dharmagupta and of Hiuan-tsang, however, follow one another quite closely."

Its Tibetan translations

In the tenth (tha) volume of the Rgyud (Tantra) of the bkaḥ-ḥgyur, leaves 433-470 contain *De. bshin-gśegs-pa bdun. gyi sṅon. gyi smon. lam. gyi khyad. par rgyas. pa* (=*Sapta-Tathāgata-pūrvapraṇidhāna-viśeṣa-sūtra*).[7] To this probably corresponds the Chinese text translated by Yi-tsing (Nanjio 172), the title of which text as restored by Nanjio

5 "Records concerning the *Triratna*, under successive dynasties."
6 "Catalogue of Buddhist books collected under the great Thau dynasty."
7 *Asiatic Researches*, XX, p. 508-9.

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is *Bhaiṣajyaguru vaidūryaprabhās (ādi) sapta-buddha pūrvapraṇidhānaguṇa sūtra*. By examining the Tibetan xylographs, I find that the first tathāgata mentioned in it is called *mtshan. legs. par. yoṅs. bsgrigs. dpal. gyi rgyal-bo*. It may be restored as *Su-yaśa-parigranthita-śrī-rāja*. Prof. Pelliot gives the Chinese name of the first Tathāgata as Chan-ming-tch'eng-ki-siang-wang-jou-lai, which may be restored as *Su-yaśaśrīrāja-tathāgata*.

In Tibetan there is also an independent translation of this work on leaves 470-484. On comparison I notice that this Tibetan version closely follows the present Sanskrit text. From the summary supplied by Prof. Pelliot from the Chinese version of Śrīmitra, Dharmagupta and Hiuan-tsang, it will be apparent that the first portions (see p. 346 para 1) agrees with the present Sanskrit text but not the rest, excepting the last few lines. In this connection, I should also point out that the quotation, which is a fairly long one, in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (p. 175) has been taken from the text under consideration.

Popularity of Bhaiṣajyaguru in China and Japan

About the popularity of this Tathāgata in China and Japan, Prof. Pelliot writes:

"The Bhaiṣajyaguru is the Buddha of the 7th of these worlds, all of which are situated in the east, and of which Tsing-lieou-li is the furthest. It seems that the necessity of symmetry has caused the location of this happy eastern world opposite to the western Paradise. In a Chinese inscription of 776 A.D., Bhaiṣajyaguru's world of the east and the Sukhāvatī of the West are mentioned side by side, and a few lines furher there is a reference to the twelve vows that he had taken when he was a bodhisattva for the welfare of beings.

From China, the Bhaiṣajyaguru passed to Japan at an early date. He is represented at Horiuji in a group in bronze; the most ancient representation is perhaps attributed to Tori Busshi; an inscription enables us to date it exactly in the year 607; it was in his honour that in the year 681 on the occasion of an illness of the Queen, the Emperor Temmei founded at Yamato the great Yakushiji, the temple of Bhaiṣajyaguru. This temple perserves even now the wonders of ancient Japanese art."

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The Contents of the Sūtra

For the purpose of comparison I am reproducing in English the substance given by Prof. Pelliot from the Chinese texts as also that of the Sanskrit text:

1. "The Buddha arrives at Vaiśālī; he is surrounded by all the beings of the worlds. Mañjuśrīkumāra stands up and requests the Tathāgata to give an exposition of the vows made formerly by the past Buddhas for extricating the living beings from the miseries of existence. Bhagavā grants the request and explains the twelve vows taken formerly, when he was a bodhisattva, by a Buddha whose world is separated from ours by Buddhakṣetras, the number of which is ten times the number of the sands of the Ganges; that Buddha is Yao-che-lieou-li-kouang-jou-lai (Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabha); he lives in the world Tsing-lieou-li. He wished that he himself might attain bodhi, pure and resplendent as the vaidūrya (maṇi), and illuminate the world immersed in darkness; he wished that his name if uttered might cure maladies, release the prisoners, change into men those women who are sick of their miserable condition, procure food for the famished, or clothes for the destitute. In short, in that world, for innumerable kalpas there would be neither suffering nor poverty; there would be no more feminine beings, nor beings in inferior states of existence; the soil would be of vaidūrya, ropes of gold would line the routes;[8] the walls and the houses would be made of seven jewels and one would believe it to be the western Sukhāvatī.[9] In the country there would be two bodhisattvas, viz., Je-kouang-pien-tchao and Yue-kouang-pien-tchao,[10] the chief among the innumerable bodhisattvas and second to

8 Neither in Tibetan (vide leaf 474, ll. 4-5) nor in Sanskrit I find any passage corresponding to this.

9 Cf कामदोषापगतापायदुःखशब्दमपगतमातृग्रामं वैदूर्य्यमयी च सा (r. s. श) महापृथिवी कुड्यप्राकारप्रासादतोरणगवाक्षजालनिर्य्यूहं सप्तरत्नमयं यादृशं सुखावतीलोकधातुस्तादृशं तत्र वैदूर्य्यनिभासायां लोकधातौ तौ बोधिसत्त्वौ etc.

Cf. Tib. xylograph, leaf 474a, ll. 4-5.

10 The Chinese terms used by Śrīmitra or Dharmagupta or Hiuantsang are really different translations of the Sanskrit names: Sūryavairocana and Candra-

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the Buddha alone; they protect the precious treasure of the law of their Tathāgata. Also all believers male and female must take the vow to be reborn in the world of this Buddha.

2. It will suffice only to think of his name for deliverance from all evils, and if one dreams of him at the time of death, Mañjuśrī-bodhisattva, Avalokiteśvara b., Mahāsthāmaprāpta b., Akṣayamati b., Pao-t'an-houa b., Bhaiṣajyarāja b., Bhaiṣajyasamudgata b.,[11] Maitreya b. will act as attendants of the deceased and conduct him to the place of delight.

3. If one makes an image of this Buddha, or if one recites the text of the sūtra, he will escape from the nine ways of death (neuf fins violentes): this is what the Bodhisattva Kieou-t'o[12] explained to Ānanda. In conclusion, having heard this instruction of Bhagavā, 12 great rākṣasa-chiefs, each having a following of 7000 rākṣasas, were converted; and they consecrated themselves to better the lot of living beings."

The Sanskrit text (in translation) begins as follows:

"Salutations to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Thus have I heard. Once Bhagavā in course of his tour came to the great city of Vaiśālī. There he stopped under a tree, giving out musical sounds, with a large number of bhikṣus, bodhisattvas, householders, gods, nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, etc., in short, many human and non-human beings. Then the dharmarājaputra Mañjuśrī, being inspired by Buddha, put the robe on one shoulder, knelt down and said with folded hands: O Bhagavā, tell us the names of the Tathāgatas and their former resolutions in detail for the good of all beings."

The Sanskrit text follows the first para of Prof. Pelliot's translation quite closely, as has been shown by quotations of some of the corresponding Sanskrit passages. After this, it gives the following conversation of Bhagavān with Mañjuśrī:

vairocana which are found in the present Sanskrit ms. as also in the inscription of Say-fong.

11 All these names occur in the list of bodhisattvas in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* (see ante p. 342); but these names are not found in the Sanskrit Ms.

12 Its Sanskrit restoration is Trāṇamukta.

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"There are, O Mañjuśrī, men who are unwise and avaricious and so when they give gifts, they feel pain in their mind; they seek food for themselves and not even for their parents. These will be reborn in the animal world, but in that state if they just remember the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru, they will be born in future among men, and be able to remember their former existences and sufferings, and so will lead a pious life.

There are some who transgress the (Buddhist) precepts, or become conceited on account of their learning and look down upon others. They will be reborn in hell where, however, if they remember the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru, they will be born in future among men and become devoted followers of the Buddhist religion.

There are again some who speak ill (*avarṇaṃ bhāsati*) of others. They will be reborn as asses, horses, cows, etc. or as low-class labourers. If they remember the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru, they will be reborn as men and will become wise and obtain good friends.

There are also some who slander others (*paiśūnyābhirata*) and instigate people to quarrel among themselves, or kill animals, or practise dreadful (Tāntric) practises (*ghoravidyām*) and so forth; they also, if they hear the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru will love their enemies or victims.

Those of the monks and nuns, male or female lay-devotees, who observe the 8 śīlas or follows the code of discipline for three months or one year will be reborn in the Sukhāvatī world of the west. Should they hear the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru, eight Bodhisattvas[13] will appear at the time of their death and conduct them to the world of gods. They may be reborn also as sovereigns of the four dvīpas, or as rich householders, and if they are females, they will lose their femininity and become males.

After this, commences the account of the merits acquired by one who makes others hear the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru, or preaches and propagates this Sūtra.

This is followed by an account of the method of worshipping the Tathāgata through an image (tasya tathāgatasya pūjā kartukāmenaśca tena tathāgatasya pratimāṃ kārapayitavyaṃ).

13 See ante, p. 347.

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The worshipper is to observe the 8 śilas, avoid impure food, choose a clean spot, burn incense, decorate the place with various kinds of cloths, flags and festoons. Then he is to bathe, and with a pure mind try to be friendly to all beings. After this he is to circumambulate the image with music, and read out the present Sūtra, remembering all the while the vows of the Tathāgata.

Such worship brings the worshipper wealth, sons etc. and on the other hand rids him of all worldly evils.

Those, who will hear the name of the Tathāgata as well as take the three Śaraṇas, observe the five Śikṣāpadas and the Bodhisattvasaṃvaras (rules of discipline for Bodhisattvas), or become monks observing the 250 Śikṣāpadas, or become nuns observing 500 Śikṣāpadas, will always be protected by the Tathāgata from evil destiny.

The women with child will by uttering his name feel no pain at the time of giving birth to the child, and the baby will be healthy, good-looking and intelligent."

This is followed by a conversation of Buddha with Ānanda about the credibility of the results enumerated above brought about by merely hearing or uttering the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru. As usual Ānanda dares not say anything against it and expresses his deep conviction in the same, pitying the evil lot of those who would not believe it.

After Ānanda, there appears one Trāṇamukta bodhisattva who enquires whether in future beings lying senseless on their death-bed when Yamarāja is taking stock of his merits and demerits can be revived by his relatives by making him hear the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru and performing the worship of the Tathāgata. He is given an answer in the affirmative, and an account of the method of worship. The worship is to be performed more elaborately by setting up seven images and so forth.

Ānanda now raises the question about the troubles of the ruling kings and the possibility of their removal by uttering the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru.

This is followed by a conversation between Ānanda and Trāṇamukta bodhisattva about the various causes of death.'[14]

14 See ante, p. 347, para 3.

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At last, appear the rākṣasas, whose chiefs were Kiṃca, Vajra, Sanila, Indraloka, Pāyila, Vidala, etc. who promised to utter the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru, take the three śaraṇas and the vow to preach the *Sūtra* everywhere.

The *Sūtra* ends with a discussion about the suitablity of its title. Thus ends the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*.*

NALINAKSHA DUTT

* I hope to publish an edition of the Sanskrit text with its Tibetan version within a short time.

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MISCELLANY

A Note on Śrīpati and his Ganitatilaka

The name of *Śrīpati* as an astronomer is well-known to students of Indian Mathematics. His works on *Pāṭīgaṇita* and *Bījagaṇita* are still unpublished; and so far as I know even the Ms. for the latter work is not available. A palm-leaf Ms. of his *Pāṭīgaṇita*, styled as *Gaṇitatilaka*[1] by Siṃhatilaka Sūri in his commentary to this work, is in my possession at present. This work along with this commentary has been included in the Gaekwad Oriental Series and is being edited by me. It appears that this Ms. is only a fragment of the whole work; for, some of the chapters to be found in Līlāvatī and such other works seem to be missing in it. So will any reader of this journal enlighten me as to whence I can get another Ms. of *Gaṇitatilaka* and its commentary? Furthermore will he kindly point out if a Ms. for *Bījagaṇita* is available anywhere?

I may mention in this connection that the existence of *Pāṭīgaṇita* and *Bījagaṇita* of Śrīpati was inferred by the late Mr. S. B. Dīkṣit, as could be seen from his work "*History of Indian Astronomy*" (p. 315). He has stated therein that these works are quoted by *Munīśvara* in his[2] commentary to Līlāvatī. Will any scholar be pleased to draw my attention to quotations pertaining to *Gaṇitatilaka* in any other work he may have come across?

Siṃhatilaka Sūri, the commentator of *Gaṇitatilaka* and the author of *Mantrarājarahasya* (composed in Saṃvat 1322) refers to a commentary on *Līlāvatī*.

He has neither mentioned the title of this nor has he quoted any passage from it. Is it possible to identify this with any particular commentary to *Līlāvatī*?

HIRALAL R. KAPADIA

1 *Karaṇatilaka*, *Karaṇaparatilaka*, *Tājakatilaka* and *Sāmudratilaka*, may be pointed out as some of the mathematical works having their names ending in *tilaka*.

2 The commentary *Buddhivilāsinī* of Gaṇeśa Daivajña is being compiled for the Ānandāśram-Sanskrit Granthāvali, Poona.

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The Successor of Kumāra Gupta I

Since the discovery of the Bhitarī Seal of Kumāra Gupta (II) in 1889 there has been a good deal of controversy regarding the chronology and order of succession of the Imperial Guptas after Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya. It has been found difficult to reconcile the divergent evidence of the Bhitarī Seal and the Bihār and Bhitarī pillar inscriptions. The last mentioned documents consistently represent Skanda Gupta as the occupant of the Imperial throne immediately after Kumāra Gupta I. But the Seal makes no reference to Skanda and mentions "Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Pura Gupta" as the son of Kumāra I and, apparently, his successor. It has been suggested that the evidence of the Seal clearly points to Pura Gupta being the rightful heir and immediate successor of Kumāra I, and that Skanda obtained, or rather usurped, the throne only after a bitter struggle in the course of which Pura Gupta and possibly some other claimants perished. The general belief among scholars, however, is that Skanda succeeded Kumāra I, and that he, in his turn, was succeeded by his brother or half-brother Pura Gupta. This view seems to be confirmed by a verse in the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa* (vol. I, ed. Ganapati Śāstrī, p. 628) which runs thus:—

Samudrākhyo nṛpaś caiva Vikramaś caiva kīrtitaḥ|
Mahendranṛpavaro mukhyaḥ Sakārādyam ataḥ param||
Devarājākhyanāmāsau yugādhame. . . .

It is impossible not to recognise in the kings (*nṛpa*) Samudra, Vikrama, Mahendra and "Sakārādya" mentioned in the verse, the great Gupta Emperors Samudra Gupta, Candra Gupta II Vikramāditya, Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya and Skanda Gupta. The appellation "*Devarāja*" reminds us of the epithet "*Śakropama*" applied to Skanda in the Kahāum Stone Pillar inscription, and may have actually been assumed by the king in imitation of his grandfather (cf. 'Candra Guptasya Deva-rāja-nām....'' of the Sāñci inscription) along with the title Vikramāditya. The words "*ataḥ param*" coming after *Sakārādya* clearly suggest that Skanda was the immediate successor of Mahendra *i.e.* Kumāra I.

H. C. Raichaudhuri

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'Samudra' in the Ṛg-veda

The term 'Samudra,' as it has been used in the *Ṛg-veda*, has been interpreted by different scholars in different ways. Yāska in his *Nirukta* says that it has been used in the *Vedas* in several senses, viz., sea or ocean, a large depository of water, *antarīkṣa*, etc. But Prof. Hopkins thinks that the term does not mean a sea or ocean, but a river. Prof. Keith, in the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1, p. 79, says: "In the period of the Ṛg-veda there is no clear sign that they (the Aryans) had yet reached the ocean. No passage even renders it probable that sea navigation was known.....The word 'Samudra' which in later times, undoubtedly means ocean, occurs not rarely; but where the application is terrestrial, there seems no strong reason to believe that it means more than a stream of the Indus in its lower course, after it had received the waters of the Punjab."

In some passages of the *Ṛg-veda*, Zimmer says that 'Samudra' denotes the river Indus when it received all its Punjab tributaries. On this statement of Zimmer, the author of the *Vedic Index* remarks that "it is probable that this is to circumscribe too narrowly the Vedic knowledge of the ocean, which was almost inevitable to people who knew the Indus. There are references to the treasures of the ocean, perhaps pearls, or gains of trade, and the story of Bhujya seems to allude to marine navigation" (*Vedic Index*, vol. 11, p. 432). Prof. Max Müller says that though in one or two passages 'Samudra' has been used in the sense of *antarīkṣa*, the word shows in by far the larger number of passages the clear meaning of ocean. "There is one clear passage VII. 95.2, which proves that the Vedic poets who were supposed to have known the upper courses only of the river of the Punjab, had followed the greatest and the most sacred of their rivers, the Sarasvatī, as far as the Indian Ocean. It is well-known that, as early as the composition of the Laws of the Mānavas, and possibly as early as the composition of the Sūtras on which the metrical Laws of Manu are based, the river Sarasvatī had changed its course, and that the place where it disappeared underground, was called the Vinaśana, the loss."

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Now, the river Sarasvatī, which in the *Ṛg-veda*, VII. 95. 2 is said to have fallen into the 'Samudra,' and which no longer does so owing to silting, is one of the rivers which have formed the basis of the argument of scholars who are not disposed to attribute to the Ṛg-vedic Aryans the knowledge of the sea. It is true that the epithets applied to the Sarasvatī by the Ṛg-vedic Aryans do not apply to it now. But that does not prove that it was never in connection with the 'Samudra' directly. Nor does it prove the existence of a Rajputana sea in the Ṛg-vdic period, as has been considered by some scholars in recent times. The very term Vinaśana used in the *Śrauta Sūtras* and in the *Laws of Manu*, proves that the Sarasvatī at one time flowed past the Vinaśana region in Rajputana. The following account of the Sarasvatī from the *Mahābhārata* will not only show the hollowness of of the theory of the Rajputana sea, and also of the theory (that 'Samudra' means 'river') of Hopkins, Zimmer, Macdonell, Keith and others, but also prove the direct connection of the Sarasvatī with the sea, and, at the same time, lend great weight to the surmise of Max Müller. From the account it will be evident that the silting up of the river was caused, as is generally the case with rivers flowing through sandy tracts and deserts, not by the so-called upheaval of the bed of the Rajputana sea, but by the inability of the current of the river to wash off sand from its course during the post Ṛg-vedic period.

Now, in the *Mahābhārata* (Salya Parvan: chaps. 35-37) is given an account of the pilgrimage of Balarāma. He started visiting the holy places on the banks of the river Sarasvatī. He began with Prabhāsa where the river united with the 'Samudra.' This Prabhāsa which subsequently became known as Somatīrtha from its association with Somadeva, was the first of the holy places on the banks of the Sarasvatī. Next Balarāma came to Puṣkara in Rajputana. Then after travelling for sometime, he came to the place called Vinaśana where the Sarasvatī is said to have disappeared underground owing to her abhorrence for the Śūdras and the Ābhiras living there, and then to Gargasrotas, a place where the sage Garga had his hermitage, and where probably the river Goggar met the Sarasvatī. This account gives a clear and unmistakable clue to the ancient course of the river Sarasvatī which really emptied itself into the Arabian sea. Therefore,

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we can safely say that at least in one place of the *Ṛg-veda* (VII. 95.2) the term 'Samudra' means 'the sea.' As regards the present condition of the river, it may be said that the upper course of the river lost itself in the desert at Vinaśana as late as the period of the Sūtra literature, while the lower course still flows in a pitiable condition, at a distance of about a mile to the eastward of Paṭṭana (N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary*, pp. 69-70, 81).

That the Ṛg-vedic Aryans had acquaintance with the sea, may also be derived from the frequent references in the hymns to the treasures of the ocean, gains of trade (cf. *Vedic Index*, vol. 11, p. 432), and to navigating ships and boats. Apart from the innumerable references to the sea or ocean generally as in *Ṛv.*, 1. 71. 7; 1. 30. 3; 1. 55. 2; VI. 50. 13; VI. 50. 14; VII. 6. 7; VII. 49, 1; VII. 69. 7, VII. 95. 2, etc., there seems to be particular references to ships and boats as in *Ṛv.*, 1.25.7; 1.56.2, etc., to the wealth of the sea, to pearls and other things as in *Ṛv.*, 1.47.6; 1.51.1; 1.48.3; 1.56.2; IX. 33.6; X. 47.2, etc., and to many other things peculiar to the sea. In the *Atharva-veda* there is a clear reference to the pearl-shell in the 'Samudra' (*Av*, IV. 104), and to the ebb and flow of the ocean. Thus we can say that at least in the passages referred to above, 'Samudra' has been undoubtedly used to designate the sea or ocean and not the river.

That the Ṛg-vedic Aryans had acquaintance with the sea, may also perhaps be proved from the findings at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. Let it not be understood, however, that we are going to make an assumption that the civilisation of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro is indentical with Ṛg-vedic civilisation. What we are going to point out is this:—The conch-shell articles found at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, show an acquaintance of their inhabitants with the sea. Harappa stands on the Rāvi or Ṛg-vedic Paruṣṇī. Now, in the *Ṛg-veda* a place called Hariyūpīyā plays an important part. It has been the scene of at least one very important battle between Aryans and non-Aryans (*Ṛv.*, VI. 27. 5). Another battle also was probably fought there betwen two Aryan kings (*Ṛv.*, VII 18.8; VII. 19.3). It is quite possible that the nearest phonetic analogue of Hariyūpīyā (*Ind Ant.*, 1929. p. 12), is this Harappa. Sir John Marshall is of opinion that the earliest civilisation of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro is

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chalcolithic, i.e., a civilisation other than the Ṛg-vedic one. If this civilisation, which is said to belong to the 3rd millennium B.C. from Sumerian analogy, is older than the Ṛg-vedic civilisation it is quite probable that the Ṛg-vedic Aryans, who occupied India later on should be acquainted with the sea and the conch-shell articles.

Now, as regards the contention of certain scholars such as Hopkins, Zimmer, Keith, and others that the term 'Samudra' in the *Ṛg-veda* means 'a river,' it may be pointed out that the entire River-hymn in the *Ṛg-veda*, X. 75, and frequent references to rivers, such as in *Ṛv.*, 1. 112. 11-12; V. 41. 15; V. 53. 9; VII. 95. 2; X. 108. 1, etc., definitely show that the word *nadī* and its other synonyms (*Nighaṇṭu* 1. 13) have always been used to designate a river. But there are also some passages (*Ṛv.*, 1. 71. 7; III. 36. 7; III. 46. 4; V. 85. 6) which may present difficulty. The Sapta Sindhavaḥ have been mentioned as filling up the 'Samudra.' But this problem may be solved in view of the facts that all rivers fall into the sea or ocean either directly or through some other rivers, and that the seven rivers even now meet the Arabian Sea through the Indus. Besides these rivers, there are also some vague references to rivers filling up the ocean, which do not warrant a generalisation that everywhere the tributaries of the Indus alone have been mentioned to designate 'Samudra.' Dr. Roy Choudhury has, however, pointed out one clear reference to the use of the term 'Samudra' with reference to big rivers like the Ganges as late as the period of the Jātaka commentary (cf. Jataka No. 342). But this particular case cannot be made the basis of such a wide generalisation as that made by Prof. Hopkins, Zimmer, Keith and others.

Lastly, as to the references to the two Samudras in *Ṛv.*, X. 136. 5, viz., the eastern sea and the western sea, and to the four Samudras in *Ṛv.*, IX. 33. 6; X. 47. 2, it should be remembered that in the former case, the eastern sea seems to refer to the Bay of Bengal, and the western sea to the Arabian sea. In the other case the idea of the four Samudras seems to have been originally derived from the four quarters of the sky. As regards the identification of the eastern sea with the Bay of Bengal, it may be argued that the Ṛg-vedic Aryans had not advanced so far as to know the Bay of Bengal. But besides putting forward the argument of the eastern sea derived from the eastern direc-

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tion, it may be said with a degree of certainty, that the mention of the term 'Kīkaṭas' (or Magadha) presupposes the knowledge of the eastern regions of India, either directly or indirectly on the part of the Ṛg-vedic Aryans (*Ṛv.*, III. 53. 14; *Nirukta*, VI. 32; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 1. 3. 24; VII. 10. 18; Muir. *O.S.T.*, vol. II, p. 344; *Cal. Review*, 1926, p. 125). Too much importance, therefore, should not be laid on *argumentum ex silentio*.

Therefore, from the above findings, we may come to the conclusion, that the term 'Samudra' in the *Ṛg-veda*, except perhaps in some particular cases where a big river has been meant, the truth of which again is open to considerable doubt, always means 'the ocean' or 'sea.' (cf. *Ṛv.* IX. 97. 44. etc.).

AMIYA KUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

The Rasa-pradīpa and the Hṛdaya-darpaṇa

Mr. P. K. Gode has contributed to the *IHQ.*, viii, 1932, p. 111 an interesting note on a quotation from the *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa*, which he found in a BORI manuscript of Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa's *Rasa-pradīpa*. The quotation escaped my notice when I wrote my account of the *Rasa-pradīpa* in 1923 and Mr. Gode deserves thanks for drawing attention to it, but I have since had an opportunity of noting it as occurring at p. 3 of the edition of the text which was published in 1925 by Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī Khiste Sāhityācārya in the Saraswati Bhavana Texts Series of Benares, vol. 12. The quotation, however, occurs anonymously in Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (ed. Durgāprasāda Dviveda, Bombay 1915, p. 11), which work in its turn has been cited thrice in the *Rasa-pradīpa*. It is noteworthy that the *Rasa-pradīpa* also refers independently (p. 25) to Bhaṭṭanāyaka.

It is not my intention in this short note to reopen the larger question of the authorship of the *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa*, but with regard to the question of the nature of the work, which Mr. Gode has raised, I should like to draw his attention to a point which he appears to have over-

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looked. He has quoted and commented upon a remark of mine with reference to the *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* from the first volume of my *Sanskrit Poetics* (p. 41,); but he does not appear to have noticed that I had also put forward, after an exchange of views with the late Prof. Sovani whom he also cites, a somewhat modified opinion on the question in the second volume of my *Sanskrit Poetics*, p. 231, footnote 5. On account of the loss of the *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* itself, all such opinions are necessarily tentative and I do not claim finality in the matter; but Mr. Gode's quotation does hardly throw any new light on the question.

So far as I can make out from the printed edition of the *Rasa-pradīpa*, the following works and authors have been cited in it (the references are to pages):

भरतमुनि १७, २०, २५, ३३ (anonymously) ३४ (भरतसूत्र), ३७; दण्डिन्, ३, ६, १२; वामन, ५; लोल्लट, १६; शङ्कुक, २३; भट्टनायक २५; हृदयदर्पण, ३; ध्वनिकार, ५, ६, ७, ८, ६, १६, १७, ४७; धनञ्जय, ३०; धनिक, १७, १८, ३०, ३६, ४४, ४८; अभिनवगुप्त १६, २६, ३१ (लोचनकार); (काव्य-) प्रकाशकार, ३, ६, ७, १६, १७; (काव्य-) प्रदीपकृत, ६, १२, १६, २२, ३५; कुन्तक cited anonymously, १२, १३; परमानन्द चक्रवर्तिन्, २०; धर्मदत्त, ३२, ४०; नारायण, १०, ४०; गङ्गाधर, ३६; वाचस्पति मिश्र, ४८; केशव, १६; साहित्यदर्पणकार, १८, २०, ३५; जिनमुनि, ७, ६; शार्ङ्गदेव, ३५; श्रीहर्ष मिश्र, ४; शम्बराचार्य, ५; व्यक्तिविवेककार ४६; रुचिनाथ or मिश्र रुचिनाथ, ६, ७, ६; श्रीपाद, ५०; भट्टचरण, ४,१४; अलङ्काररहस्य (स्वकृत) ८, ६, १०, १३, १५, २०, ३७, ३८, ३६, ४०, ५१; मामिका संग्रहकारिका, ३७; अभिहितान्वयवादिनः ४१; आचार्य, ४, १६, ३०, २४, २८; मिश्राः, ५, ६, १०, १३, २२, ३०; सम्प्रदायरसिक, ११; सम्प्रदायमत, १३; साम्प्रदायिकाः, ३२; टीकाकार, ५; मत्स्य-पुराण, १८; रघुवंश, ६।

S. K. DE

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Bangiya Sāhitya Pariṣad

It is proposed to give in these pages an account of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, one of the oldest institutions established for encouraging linguistic, historical and scientific study in any Indian vernacular. It was originally founded under the name, Bengal Academy of Literature, in 1893.

The Pariṣad consists of three departments of activities:—(i) Library, (ii) Museum and (iii) Publication. The Library has a collection of 34,476 printed books in Bengali, English, Sanskrit, Assamese, Hindi, etc. It has been enriched by the valuable collections, among others, of Pandit Iśvar Candra Vidyāsāgar, Mr. R. C. Dutt, the late poet Mr. Satyendra Nath Dutt, and Rājā Vinaya Kṛṣṇa Dev. It possesses a good many old and very rare publications in English and Bengali.

The Museum has a collection of sculptures, terracottas, bronzes, coins and manuscripts. A catalogue of the collection entitled *The Handbook to the sculptures in the Museum of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad* was published by the late Mr. Manomohan Ganguli. A catalogue of the coins, some of which are very important, is under preparation.

The Manuscript Library of the Pariṣad contains about 5000 bundles of manuscripts, of which 2000 are in Sanskrit, and 3000 are in Bengali. The Pariṣad was able to secure portions of the manuscript collections of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. Pran Krishna Biswas whose name is associated with that well-known Tantra compilation, the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī*, and Dr. Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Bengali MSS. is in the course of publication, two parts having already been published. A catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts is under preparation by the writer of this note and will be published shortly along with a critical and descriptive introduction.[1]

Publication Department of the Pariṣad

Thirty-seven volumes of the Quarterly Journal, the organ of the Pariṣad have been published. In it are learned papers from the

1 Cf. C. Chakravarti—*Sanskrit Mss. in the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*—(Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā, vol. XXXVIII, p. 237 ff.).

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pens of various scholars in Bengal. A good many epigraphic records of Bengal have been published in it, some of which were edited here for the first time. R. D. Banerji's well-known work, *Origin of Bengali Script*, was originally written in Bengali for this journal. The same is also the case with his paper on *the Indo-Scythian period of Indian History* (*Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā*, vol. XIV; *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVII, pp. 25 ff.) One of the objects of the Pariṣad is to coin technical terms, so that scientific works may be produced in Bengali without any difficulty. Some of the technical terms in several branches have already been published in this journal while others are being edited by an expert committee. It is also proposed to publish a *Dialectic Dictionary of Bengali*, and with this ovject in view, dialectic words from different parts of Bengal have been collected and published in the form of a good many short papers in the different volumes of the journal.

Eighty works have so far been published in the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Series. These may broadly be brought under four classes, e.g.,

(i) Old Bengali texts;

(ii) Translation from Sanskrit, English, Arabic and Persian;

(iii) Scientific works; and

(iv) Miscellaneous independent works.

Only works in Bengali are published in the series, there having been only one exception, the *Saṅgītarāga-Kalpadruma* (or Encyclopædia of Indian music) comprising popular Sanskrit, Hindi, Gujrati, Karnati, Telugu, Tamil, Bengali, Arabic, Persian, Peguan and various songs of the different dialects of Rajputana as well as some ancient English songs. It was compiled by Kṛṣṇānanda Vyāsadeva Rāgasāgara in the 19th century at the instance of the chief of Udaipur and was reprinted by the Pariṣad from the original edition of 1843 A.D. Besides this, in the case of translation from Sanskrit, the Sanskrit texts have also been published along with their Bengali translations as in the *Nyāyadarśana*, *Śrībhāṣya* and *Sarvasaṃvādinī*.

Some of the publications of the Pariṣad under the first head have opened up new fields of study not only for students of linguistics but also for students of literary, social and religious history of Bengal. A good deal of controversy has also been occasioned with regard to the exact nature and genuineness of some of these works. Of these, the

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Bauddha gān a dohā contains, along with the Apabhraṃśa records of very great importance, the *Caryācaryaviniścaya*[1] which is suposed to be the earliest literary specimen of old Bengali. According to Dr. S. K. Chatterjee the work belongs to the period 950 to 1200 A.D. (*Origin and Development of Bengali language*, p. 123). But according to Dr. B. Bhattacharya the oldest songs in it may be traced back to the 6th century (*JBORS.*, vol. XIV, p. 341 ff.).

The work having been published in Bengali characters has not received the recognition that it so richly deserved. As a matter of fact few scholars outside Bengal have had any knowledge of its contents before the publication of Dr. Sahidullah's work *Les Chants Mysitiques*.

Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana is the oldest available literary specimen of middle Bengali, the importance of which has been increased by the fact of its having been edited from a contemporary manuscript belonging to the latter half of 14th century—a fact that has helped also the preservation of the language of the time. "Its importance is as great as that of the works of Layamon and Chaucer in English" says Dr. S. K. Chatterjee (*op. cit.* p. 129).

Mention may next be made of the works pertaining to the Dharma cult of Bengal—a cult which preserves the traits of Buddhism under a guise. Some of the works coming under the class and published by the Pariṣad are important and interesting.

Rāmāi Paṇḍit and Mayūrabhaṭṭa, to whom the *Śūnyapurāṇa* and *Dharmapurāṇa* are respectively attributed, are two important persons in the history of the Dharma cult of Bengal. They flourished in the 10th or 11th century of the Christian era. But the works passing under their names bear the distinct stamp of lateness, being found in comparatively later mss. The original works may have undergone modification in the hands of later writers and may have given rise to the forms in which we get them. A late work describing the power of Dharma is the *Dharmamaṅgal* of Ghanarām. Another important publication with regard to the Dharma cult is the *Dharma Pūjā Vidhāna* in which three works describing the rites connected with the worship of

1 It has been corrected by Paṇḍit Vidhu Śekhara Śāstrī as *Aścarya-caryācaya*. See *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. VI, p. 169 ff.

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Dharma have been published. One of these is attributed to the famous law-giver of Bengal, viz., Raghunandan.

Of works belonging to the sect of the Nāthas, the origin and doctrines of which sect are still shrouded in obscurity, the Pariṣad has published the *Gorakṣavijaya*. It describes how *Gorakṣanātha* saved his preceptor Mīnanātha who being surrounded by all sorts of earthly temptations was going to meet with eternal damnation. It is a very important work throwing a flood of light on the traditional history of Nāthagurus. Similar stories regarding them may be collected not only from different parts of Bengal but from different parts of India, and a comparative study of them will be very useful.

In the field of Vaiṣṇava literature, which constitutes the real wealth of Bengali literature, the Pariṣad has brought out a fairly good number of works. Under the head of Padāvalī literature or lyrico-devotional literature the Pariṣad has brought out besides the *Kṛṣṇa Kīrtana* a critical edition of the *Padakalpataru*, in five volumes.

Critical editions of the *Padāvalīs* of the two famous and most popular poets Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdās were published for the first time from the Pariṣad. It has also published the *Gaurpadataraṅgiṇī* or a colletcion of songs about Śrī Caitanya the great Vaiṣṇava reformer of Bengal.

Besides these, mention may be made of two important biographical works, e.g., *Jayadev-Carita* of Vanamālī Dās and *Caitanyamaṅgal* of Jayānanda, the latter of which contains valuable information about the life of the great teacher.

Of old topographical interest are the *Vraja-Parikramā* and *Navadvīpaparikramā* of Narahari Cakravartī.

Maṅgalakāvyas or Kāvya works which aim at the propagation of the worship of particular deities occupy a very important place in old Bengali literature. It is to be noted that this class of works is not well-represented in the Pariṣad Series. We have already made reference to works of this type dealing with the Dharma cult. Mention may be also made of the *Rādhikā maṅgal* of the blind poet Bhavānīprasād, *Gaṅgā-maṅgal*, *Śāradāmaṅgal*, *Śrīkṛṣṇamaṅgal* of Kṛṣnadās and *Kālikā-maṅgal*, or the story of Vidyāsundara of Balarāma Kaviśekhara.

There was a time when with the deterioration of Sanskrit culture and the growth of the vernaculars, need was felt for addressing the

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people in the vernaculars on subjects that were the special province of Sanskrit. Some such works in Bengal were referred to and described by the present writer in the *Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā* (Vol. XXXIV, p. 228 f.). In the Pariṣad Series a work of this type has been published, e.g., the *Sādhakaraṅjana* of Kamalākānta which seeks to explain Tantra topics like the six Cakras etc., in Bengali.

Of translations, the most important is perhaps that of the *Nyāyadarśana* by Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Phaṇi Bhūṣaṇa Tarkavāgīśa published in five volumes. It contains also a very learned commentary in Bengali by the author. Mention should also be made of the translation of the *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānuja by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Durga Charan Sāṃkhyavedāntatīrtha.

The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* has been translated by Principal Rāmendra Sundar Trivedī along with notes and a valuable appendix in which technical terms belonging to sacrificial rites have been explained. The translation of the *Bodhisasttrāvadāna Kalpalatā* by Sarat Chandra Das and the *Kaulamārgarahasya* by Paṇḍit Satiś Chandra Siddhāntabhūṣaṇa should be mentioned here. In the latter work are to be found the translations of several Tantric works along with a learned essay on Kaulaism.

It is to be regretted that the translations of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* by Paṇḍit Vidhu Śekhar Śāstrī and of the *Mutakherin* by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar have not yet been completed, only parts having been published.

Of standard European works the *History of European Civilisation* by Guizot was translated by Prof R. N Ghosh. Though the publication of scientific works in Bengali is one of the objects of the Pariṣad, few works under this head have so far been published. A work of this class is perhaps the (1) *Udbhidvijnana* (in two volumes) which is a treatise on Botany from the pen of Principal G. C. Bose. Two other publications in this section are (2) *Rāsāyanik Paribhāṣā* by Sir P. C. Roy and Mr. P. C. Chatterjee, and (3) *Jyotiṣa-darpaṇa* by Mr. Apurva Chandra Dutt.

Of independent original works, mention should be made first of *Bāṅgalā Bhāṣā* (in four volumes) by Prof. Yogesh Chandra Roy who was the first to attempt here a systematic and scientific treatment of

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the Bengali language in all its branches--phonetics, grammar and lexicon.

Another important publication is the *Manovijñāna* of Prof. Nalinaksa Bhattacharya. It is a treatise on Psychology. It contains references to the views of Indian thinkers on particular points. Last but not the least in importance is the *Haraprasāda Saṃvardhana Lekhamālā* (Vol. 1), a commemorative volume of essays presented to Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri on the occasion of his attainment of the seventy fifth year of his life.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTY

A Note on Iron in the Ṛg-vedic Age

The use of iron and steel in the Ṛg-vedic age can best be proved by showing that the Ṛg-vedic hymns refer directly or indirectly to swords, razor and the quoit ring of iron (*Khāḍu*)

Asi or Svadhiti

In *Ṛk*. I. 162.20, the Aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice is distinctly mentioned. The *Sūtras* enjoin that sacrificial horse must be killed by a single stroke. (*sakṛtchitta*). The same tradition is followed in animal sacrifice in connection with the rituals of the present day. Failure to kill the sacrificial animal (be it a goat or a huge buffalo) by one stroke forebodes ill. This custom can be traced also to the *Ṛg-veda* where we read: "Let not thy dear soul burn thee as thou comest, let not the hatchet linger in thy body. Let not a greedy immolator missing the joints mangle thy limbs unduly. No here thou dies not, thou art not injured, by easy path unto the gods thou goest." (*Ṛk*., I, 162.20).

In order to sever the neck of a powerful horse by one stroke, a

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sharp weapon is required. The *Ṛg-veda* (II. 39, 4 & 7) also refers to the sharpening of this sacrificial axe. It should then be made of one of the three metals, *viz.*, gold, silver, or copper. The question now is whether '*Ayas*' in the *Ṛg-veda* means copper or an alloy of copper and bronze So, this point requires to be very carefully weighed before we disbelieve the existence of *iron* in the Mantra age, for, a sharp axe should necessarily be of iron and steel and *Ayas* therefore should mean iron or steel.

Kṣura

Another evidence of the existence of iron and steel in the Ṛg-vedic age lies in the definite mention in the *Ṛg-veda*, of *kṣura* (razor) (I. 166 10; X, 28, 9), as also of the barber (*baptṛ*) and his shaving. (X, 142, 4). The ritualistic shaving is enjoined in almost every ceremony prescribed for the Hindus. It must be *perfectly clean*. The Ṛg-vedic term *baptṛ* (barber) signifies one who performs a clean shave of the hairs of the head, the beard, etc. Now for such a clean shave, the instrument must needs be very sharp—a fact admitted in the Ṛg-vedic bard's prayer in VIII, 4, 16, where he speaks of the extreme sharpness of the *kṣura* (razor); "Oh Puṣan! sharpen us very finely as the razors." This shows that the razor (*kṣura*) used by the Ṛg-vedic barber (*bapta*) was very *sharp*, and this was *ipso facto* indispensable for a *clean shave* on which the *Śāstras* insist. The question then arises as to the material used for manufacturing *kṣura*. The *Sūtras* say that it was of *Ayas*. The instrument was made of some metal but it could not be *gold* or *silver*, because neither of them can stand fine grounding. Therefore it must have been made of the third metal, viz., *Ayas*.[1] Hence the metal of the *kṣura* being *Ayas* and its main characteristic being very finely sharp, the belief gains ground that it could be of no other metal but steel (Indian 'wootz' celebrated as an excellent material for making razor).

1 Cf. *Ṛgveda*, VI, 3.5; 47.10. Speaking of Agni, it says, "whetting his splendour like the sharp edge of *Ayas*"; and addressing Indra, it says, "Be gracious Indra! Sharpen my thought as it were a blade of *Ayas*."

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The method of smelting *Ayas* as delineated in the *Ṛg-veda*, which we have already explained,[2] was quite capable of producing razor-steel directly from the ore—a fact fully borne out by the statements of a few metallurgists of the present times. They have actually made experiments with Indian steel obtained direct from the ore, as specified in the *Ṛg-veda* and produced sharp razors therefrom.[3] All these facts conclusively prove the existence of iron and steel in the Ṛg-vedic age.

Khādi

Khādi (*Khāḍu* as it is now commonly called), a quoit-ring is worn by every Hindu woman in her left hand just after birth. This custom may be traced back to the *Ṛg-veda* (V. 54.11; VII. 56.13; VI. 16.40; V. 58.2; II. 34.2; X. 38.1 and I. 64.10). These quoit-rings, as is the traditional custom throughout India amongst the Hindus, rich or poor, is made of iron only and of no other metal. This iron *Khādi* is a symbol of wedded union and is only taken off the wife's hand when she becomes a widow. As *Khādi* or *Khāḍu* needs be of iron and nothing else, it proves quite clearly that the Ṛgvedic people knew the use of iron.

Thus from what we have gathered from the *Ṛg-veda* as regards the use of *Asi* (sacrificing knife) and *Svadhiti* (sacrificing axe) in *Aśvamedha* or horse-sacrifice the *Kṣura* (razor) in ceremonial shaving, and *Khādi or Khāḍu* as a symbol of married life or of imparting good-will to newly born babies, there is strong evidence in support of the proof of the existence of iron in the *Ṛg-vedic* times.

MANINDRA NATH BANERJEE

2 Vide *IHQ.*, V, 3: *On iron and steel in the Ṛg-vedic Age.*

3 Mushet's *Iron and Steel* pp. 366ff. "Razors, chisels, and saw-plates were formed from different bars of the steel; all of them of a strong and excellent quality. A pair of razors of which I had a good many manufactured at Sheffield shaved me for 10 years constantly; and were at last gifted away, as no mean gift; and considered by the receiver as a curiosity having been produced from a lump of iron-ore."

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Note on Gopāla

In the December issue of the *IHQ.* (*VII*, pp. 751-3), Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh has tried to prove that Gopāla the founder of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal was originally a feudatory of Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, and that Mahārāja Jyeṣṭhabhadra mentioned in the Nidhanpur copper plate was no other than the maternal grandfather of Dharmapāla, as in the Khalimpur copper plate Deddadevī is supposed to have been described as 'Bhadrātmajā.'

Mr. Ghosh's contention may be summarised as follows:—

(1) That the late Mr. R. D. Banerji's view that Pāla kings were of humble origin is unwarranted in view of Vijñāneśvara's dictum referred to by Mr. Ghosh.

(2) That Gopāla, the father of Dharmapāla, was originally a sāmanta of Bhāskaravarman and is mentioned as such in the Nidhanpur plates.

(3) That Deddadevī has been described as a Bhadrātmajā; in the Nidhanpur plates there is mention of a feudatory called Mahārāja Jyeṣṭhabhadra, and another called Gopāla 'issuer of hundred commands' and honoured with *Pañca mahā-śabda*. "Can this Gopāla be the founder of the Pāla dynasty and his queen Deddadevī a daughter of this Jyeṣṭhabhadra? It is not at all unlikely that Gopāla, himself a sāmanta, married the daughter of another sāmanta under the same overlord."

About the first point, Mr. Ghosh shows that in the copper plate grants, according to Vijñāneśvara a commentator of Yājnavalkya, only the exploits of the great grandfather, grand father, father and the donor himself need be mentioned. Sudents of Indian epigraphy need not be told that such a rule has never been observed in the majority of the land grants. Either the grants do not mention any ancestor at all, or mention quite a host of them. In the Ṭasapaikera grant of Ranabhañjadeva only the royal donor's father is mentioned.[1] If Mr. Ghosh had taken a little trouble he would have seen that even in the Nidhanpur copper plates the dictum referred to by him has not been followed. A glance at any Cālukya or Rāṣṭrakūṭa grant would bear out my suggestion. Even the records of the Pāla kings themselves do

1 *JBORS.*, II, pp. 167 ff.

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not observe the rule. The curious reader might go through Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, Amgachhi grant of Vigrahapāla III or Manhali plates of Madanapāla.[2] Therefore the conclusion is irresistible that the rule laid down by the famous commentator regarding landgrants has been more violated than observed. Again if Vapyaṭa and Dayitaviṣṇu were such illustrious personages why is their name omitted from later Pāla records where the genealogical table begins from Gopāla? To this must be added the fact that none of our authorities who give us any information about the origin of the Pāla kings agree amongst themselves. The natural conclusion to be deduced from all this is that on account of the humble origin of the ruling family their court-poet and admirers tried to give them all sorts of mythical origin. By 'humble' it is not certainly meant that they were a low class people, but insignificant in respect of the position held by Gopāla's son and descendants.

Regarding the parentage of Deddadevī, it requires to be pointed out that Mr. Ghosh has drawn his conclusion on very unsafe grounds. Together with Kielhorn he thinks that verse 5 of Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla makes the queen of Gopāla the daughter of a person called Bhadra.

शीतांशोरेव रोहिणी हुतभुजः स्वाहेव तेजोनिधिः
सर्व्वाणीव शिवस्य गुह्यकपतेर्भद्रेव भद्रात्मजा।
पौलोमीव पुरन्दरस्य दयिता श्रीदेद्ददेवीत्यभूद्
देवी तस्य विनोदभूर्मुररिपोर्लक्ष्मीरेव क्ष्मापतेः॥

"As Rohini is the beloved of the Moon, Svāha of the Fire, Sarvāṇī of Śiva, and Bhadrā of the lord of the Guhyakas, as the daughter of Pulomān is of the Purandara, Lakṣmī of Mura's foe, so the illustrious Deddadevī, *a daughter of Bhadra king*, became the queen of that brilliant ruler of earth, to him a source of joy."[3] The composer probably wanted to compare Gopāla and his queen with the various gods and their consorts. All would have been well if he had not used the word *bhadrātmajā*

2 *IA*, XV, p. 304, *EI*, XV, p. 293 or *JASB.*, 1900 p. 66.
3 *EI.*, IV, pp. 248, 251.

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after *bhadreva*, because in it the late Dr. Kielhorn saw a reference to the parentage of Deddadevī, which has completely misguided Mr. Ghosh. In my opinion *bhadrātmajā* may well be regarded as an adjective of Kuvera's wife. This was precisely the attitude of the late Mr. A. K. Maitra who was the first to challenge Dr. Kielhorn's interpretation.[4] Mr. Ghosh points out that the late Mr. Maitra did not cite any *Purāṇa* or *Itihāsa* in support of his conclusion. May we know what justification or authority Kielhorn has shown for his explanation?

Then even if we accept the interpretation of Kielhorn it passes my comprehension how Gopāla of the Nidhanpur plate can be regarded as the founder of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal? It has been presumed that Karṇasuvarṇa was captured by Bhāskaravarman after the death of Arjuna, the usurper of Harṣa's throne. On what ground this conclusion is arrived at we have not been told. On the other hand it is quite probable that the city was captured by the Kāmarūpa king in conjunction with Harṣa during the latter's lifetime. Thus we see that even the date *c.* 650 A.D. is too late and therefore unacceptable. But let us suppose at present that the date is exact, and proceed to examine the possibility of identifying Gopāla of the Nidhanpur plates with the founder of the Pāla dynasty.

At present it is not possible to fix the date of Gopāla as no record of his reign has been discovered. Therefore in order to see whether he could flourish in *c.* 650 A.D. as suggested by Mr. Ghosh we shall have to fix the date of his son Dharmapāla. The first source of our information is the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāladeva in which we are told that Dharmapāla gave the crown of Kaṇauj to the begging Cakrāyudha after winning it from Indrāyudha.[5] At that time the question was asked who was Indrāyudha? It was years afterwards that *Jaina Harivaṃśa* solved the puzzle. There it is stated that in the Śaka year 705=783 A.D. there were reigning in the north (from a place called Vardhamānapura, modern Wadhwan) a king called Indrarāja, in the south Śrī-Vallabha, in the east the illustrious king of Avantī named Vatsarāja, and in the west in the territory of the Sauryas the brave

4 *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 20 fn.

5 *IA.*, XV, pp. 305, 307.

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Varāha.[6] Thus we see that Indrāyudha was reigning in *c.* 783 A.D., the defeat therefore must have taken place in 783 + x. Then the Gwalior inscription comes to our aid. It states that Nāgabhaṭṭa II became eminent after defeating Cakrāyudha whose lowly demeanour was evident from his dependence on others.[7] The Sañjan plates give us further information. They tell us that in the remote Himalayas Govinda III received the submission of Dharma and Cakrāyudha.[8] In the light of the above data we can come to the conclusion that Dharmapāla was a contemporary of Govinda III of the Rāṣṭrakuṭa dynasty of Malkhed, and Nāgabhaṭṭa II of Kanauj. We know only one date of Nāgabhaṭṭa II (872 V.S. = c. 815 A. D.), therefore contemporaneity with him would not be of much help to us. On the other hand detailed consideration of the dates of the inscriptions of Govinda III and his immediate predecessor and successor leads us to conclude that he reigned from *c.* 794 to 814 A.D. Then again we learn from Radhanpur grant of Govinda III that he defeated a Gurjara king (whose name we learn from Sañjan plate of Amoghavarṣa I to be Nāgabhaṭṭa II) before the year 730 of the Śaka Era (*c.* 808 A.D.).[9] Before that date Indrāyudha must have been defeated by Dharmapāla, and Cakrāyudha placed on the throne of Kanauj, and before that Dharmapāla must have ascended the throne of Bengal. Therefore it would be not illogical to assume that he (Dharmapāla) probably reigned from *c.* 780-815 A.D. Thus we see that in order to accept the suggestion that Gopāla of the Nidhanpur plates is no other than the founder of the Pāla dynasty and Mahārāja Jyeṣṭhabhadra of the same grant his father-in-law, we have to assign a reign of *130 years* because *c.* 650 is the date of the grant according to Mr. Ghosh himself, and which is absurd.

To conclude, it is impossible to regard Gopāla of Nidhanpur grant as father of Dharmapāla and Mahārāja Jyeṣṭhabhadra as his maternal grandfather. The anarchy due to which Gopāla was elected a king, was not due to the invasion of Bhāskaravarman, but to the repeated foreign invasions and political disintegration of Bengal. This happened long after the death of Bhāskaravarman.

A. C. Banerji

6 *IA.*, XV, p. 141; EI., VI, pp. [illegible]
7 *EI.*, XVIII, p. 112, verse 9.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 240, verse 23.
9 *EI.*, VI, p. 244.

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Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva

In the last number of this Journal (vol. VIII, no. 1, pp. 228 ff.) Mr. A. K. Mrithyunjayan has criticised my views about this inscription and supported the original contention of Dr. Hirananda Śāstrī that it should be attributed to Yaśodharman. Mr. Mrithyunjayan begins by saying that what I said in order to combat the view of Dr. H. Śāstrī had already been considered by him. Perhaps so. But does it not occur to Mr. Mrithyunjayan that since I came to diametrically opposite conclusions, I must have either considered new facts or drawn different conclusions from the same facts? As such I do not see any point in this criticism, and if I refer to it, it is simply because the same observation was made to me by a learned scholar whom I recently met in Calcutta.

Mr. M. next observes—"Dr. Mazumdar bases his argument on palæography and considers the evidence of the form of certain *akṣaras* in the document under notice too axiomatic to require re-examination of the point." This is not quite accurate. I based my argument on the form of the name which is clearly Yaśovarma and not Yaśodharma, and brought forward palæographic evidence to show that it is decisively in favour of the natural inference that the king in whose reign the record was issued was the former and not the latter. That palæographic evidence does not depend upon a few *akṣaras*, as Mr. M. supposes, but on all the test letters by which one could distinguish the scripts of the two reigns. I did not intentionally go into details, as Dr. H. Śāstrī conceded the point. Nor shall I go into this question now, in spite of Mr. M's reference to Horiazi palm-leaf manuscript, until my view is convincingly challenged. I need only remind Mr. M. that the proper method of finding out the age of the script of a stone-record is to compare it with *stone records* of the same locality and not to invoke the name of a manuscript found at a remote place and whose date is at best uncertain. As I think it unnecessary. I refrain from the task of evaluating Mr. M's disquisitions on the evolution of Indian scripts.

Mr. M. reiterates, with approval, an observation of Dr. H. Śāstrī, "that the late Dr. Fleet was perfectly right when he thought that the name of Yaśodharma should be corrected into Yaśovarma"

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(*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 40). Dr. Śāstrī refers, as his authority, to foot-note 2, on page 145 of *Gupta Inscriptions* by Fleet. I quote this below *in extenso*:

"Having regard to the frequency with which, in the period of this inscription, *varman* occurs as the termination of proper names, and to the rarity of *dharman*,—there might be some temptation to suggest that Yaśodharman should be corrected into Yaśovarman. But the *dh* is very distinct in line 7 here, and in the corresponding place in line 7 of the remnant of the original duplicate copy of this inscription, No. 34 below, Plate xxi c.; and again in line 8 below; and again in the same name in line 4 of the inscription of Yaśodharman and Viṣṇuvardhana, No. 35 below, Plate xxii.—The form *dharman* is not of frequent occurrence. But we do meet with it in other proper names; e.g. Kṛtadharman, Kṣatradharman, Kṣemadharman, Jayadharman, and Sudharman. And it also occurs in ordinary composition, e.g. in *Manv-ādi-praṇīta-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmmā*, in line 5 of the Māliyā grant of the Mahārāja Dharasena II of the year 252, No. 38 below, Plate xxiv; and in *tejobhir-āditya-samāna-dharmmā*, in line 29 of the Kauthem grant of Vikramāditya V of Śaka-Saṃvat 930 expired (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVI, p. 22.)."

I suppose it will be evident to any one that far from supporting the correction of Yaśodharma into Yaśovarma, Fleet was definitely against any such idea and regarded Yaśodharma as the correct form of the name.

Mr. M's concluding observations on the use of *liṭ* miss the real point, and definitely go against the view of Dr. H. Śāstrī. "Taking it for granted" says Mr. M. "that the *liṭ* (śaśāsa) indicates the *bhūta-kāla* only and that Bālāditya could not have been alive when these stanzas about him were written . . . his [Dr. Śāstrī's] hypothesis will remain unshaken, for this *lakāra* is allowed to be used in the case of such events also as took place only one or two days before a statement is made". Unfortunately it is not so. The hypothesis is that the "inscription was written when Bālāditya was ruling" (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 40) and it cannot be said to remain 'unshaken' even if Bālāditya had died one or two days before the inscription was written. As a matter of fact Mr. M. not only supports me, but even goes further. I maintained, against the view of Dr. H. Śāstrī, that "there is no warrant for the assumption that Bālāditya was ruling at the time the record was set up." Mr. M. goes somewhat further still, and is even prepared to take it for granted "that Bālāditya could not have been alive when these stanzas about him

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were written." It perhaps escapes him completely how such an assumption takes the whole ground from under the feet of Dr. H. Śāstrī, whose cause he is out to support.

In conclusion I would like to point out that Dr. H. Śāstrī's translation of verse 14 is apt to mislead the unwary. It clearly refers to an image of the Buddha set up by Bālāditya and there can be no question of any command issued by the king. Although the latter is given as an alternative translation, it is, in my humble opinion, quite an unwarranted one; and more so, when it is put forward as preferable of the two, and an inference is drawn therefrom that the people were enjoined to respect the benefactions, mentioned in the grant, 'because of the fear of the sword of king Bālāditya' (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 39).

R. C. Majumdar

The Nāṭyasāstra and Bharata-muni

From Mr. H. P. Trivedi's note published in the June (1930) number of the *Quarterly* on my paper on 'Problems of the Nāṭyaśāstra' (*IHQ.*, March, 1930), it appears to me that Mr. Trivedi misunderstood some of my words.

In his note Mr. Trivedi seems to object to the view that the *Naṭa-sūtra* of Kṛśāśva and Śilālin means any *Nāṭyaśāstra* (i.e. any text-book on Nāṭya). To support his view he relies on Prof. Keith who is not willing to take *naṭa* of Pāṇini's time in the sense of an actor. But Mr. Trivedi overlooks the date (400 B.C.) assigned by Prof. Keith to Pāṇini (*Sanskrit Drama*, p. 31). If this view of Prof. Keith is to be accepted we fail to appreciate Mr. Trivedi's arguments which, in his opinion, are 'sufficient to trace a continuous and constant development of the drama in the Maurya time.....'

It appears further that he risked this argument on a misunderstanding of my statement that Kṛśāśva and Śilālin were the earliest known writers of any *Nāṭyaśāstra*. But Mr. Trivedi seems to have taken *any* Nāṭyaśāstra as the *NS.* ascribed to Bharatamuni whose exis-

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tence I and several other persons questioned. It was far from my intention to attribute this *NŚ.* to Kṛśāśva and Śilālin.

Mr. Trivedi thinks that he has found a flaw in my suggestion regarding the probable origin of the cock-and-bull story about Bharatamuni's meeting Brahman who created the Nāṭyaveda. Arguments, on which my suggestion was based, were as follows:

(a) Law-givers hated the śūdras and their arts;

(b) The Nāṭya was an art monopolised by naṭas who were Śūdras,

(c) Lovers of the nāṭya tried to raise the status of the text-book on it;

(d) Making a veda of the text-book of the *nāṭya* was probably a step in this direction.

Now Mr. Trivedi thinks that the orthodox people of the time would have raised strong objection against such blasphemous attempt and would have baffled it by every possible means. His argument is that, as the NŚ. with the proud title of a veda has come down to us unharmed, the orthodox people of the time had no quarrel with its origin. I am afraid Mr. Trivedi has overestimated the strength of orthodoxy. It happened many a time in Indian History that the orthodox people have measured their strength with heterodoxy but every time they met with defeat. Buddhism, Jainism and many other sects are living examples of this. There is ample proof that the orthodox people did not like the legendery creation of Bharatamuni, for in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* the name of this muni does not occur for a single time.

Another instance of Mr. Trivedi's misunderstanding of my paper is his belief that I suggested a cessation of dramatic activities during the Maurya times. What I said in this connection is that there was, due to political disfavour a fall of standard in dramatic performances during the Maurya times (vide *IHQ.*, 1930, p. 74).

Mr. Trivedi has given some very novel informations, some of them are given below with our comments:

(a) Mr. Trivedi writes that Aśvaghoṣa, wrote his dramas in Sanskrit. Are we to understand that he did not use Prākṛt. For exact facts Mr. Trivedi may be referred to pp. 82f. of Prof. Keith's *Sanskrit Drama*.

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(b) The above remark of Mr. Trivedi explains his view that in the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*, Aśvaghoṣa has a close accordance with the rules of the NŚ. in all points 'rarely to be found in any other of the extant dramas'. It is a well-known fact that Aśvaghoṣa's drama has been available in fragments which represent probably a very minor fraction of the entire play. It passes our understanding how a statement like the above could be made on such insufficient data. He has relied it seems, on Prof. Keith who writes that the most remarkable thing regarding this drama is its close correspondence to the classical type as laid down in the '*Nāṭyaśāstra*'. This piece is a Prakaraṇa, and it has nine acts which accord perfectly with the rule of the Śāstra (*Skt. Drama*, p. 82).

(c) In support of his guess about the existence of Indian drama in Buddha's time Mr. Trivedi refers to Prof. Keith's *Sanskrit Drama* (pp. 43-44) who I am sure never meant it.

(e) Mr. Trivedi's reliance on the *Lalitavistra* on the same points is very injudicious, for this book is never dated at Buddha's time. The earliest date that has been assigned to it is the first century B.C.

MANOMOHAN GHOSE

Mahanataka

The Skt. śloka on p. 629 of *IHQ.*, of Dec., 1931 was learned by me in a different form about a quarter of a century ago. The variants may be found interesting. They are:—

पाद १। तरणिविरहिणि
पाद २। धृतमुदि कुमुदे
पाद ३। प्रतमसि शमिते
पाद ४। कन्दर्पेऽनल्पदर्पे विकिरति

T. K. JOSEPH

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Iṣṭakā and Iṣṭya

In the *IHQ.*, of Dec., 1931 (pp. 735-7) Mr. Przyluski discusses the origin of the Sanskrit word *iṣṭakā* (=brick) and the Avestic equivalent *iṣṭya*, and suggests that they are non-Aryan in origin and probably derivable from the Dravidic root *leṭ* from which Skt. *leṣṭu* (and *loṣṭa*, *neṣṭu*, and *loṣṭu* also, presumably) could be derived. *Leṣṭu*, *leṣṭa*, *eṣṭa*, *iṣṭa*, *iṣṭakā* marks the successive stages in the change in form, while the Semantic change is marked by *leṣṭu*(=clod of earth)=*iṣṭakā* (=brick).

The morphological scheme shown above does not seem to account for the final *kā* of the Skt. word and the corresponding *ya* of the Avestic word. Is it not likely that some word akin to *iṣṭakā* and *iṣṭya* may be found in Sumerian? Did the Dravidians invent bricks (and kilns to burn them) in India—North or South, or did they learn the art of burning bricks from some foreigners, the Sumerians for instance? Mr. S. K. Sarkar concludes that "The Dravida of the Ganges valley have bequeathed to the Aryans the art of manufacturing and utilizing bricks" (p. 735). But from whom did the Dravidians learn it, if they learnt it at all from outsiders? Mr. Otto Stein (p. 735) says that "Dravidian *iṭṭikā* is without doubt a loan word from the Indo-Aryan." Is it likely that these two got the word for brick directly or indirectly from some other source?

The ordinary Malayālam word for brick is *iṣṭika*, or in the uneducated man's speech *iṭṭika*, or *iṭṭiya*. In the southern portion of the Malayalam country and in the adjoining Tamil country on the east coast of South India the ordinary word for brick is *ceṅkal* (=red stone), or cuṭukal (=burnt or baked stone), as contrasted with *veṭṭukal* (=cut stone, laterite) and *kariṅkal* (=black stone, granite) which were used for building purposes before the introduction of burnt bricks. In the Malayalam country (or Kerala) brick began to be used only one or two centuries ago. Its use in the Tamil country is more ancient.

The word for brick kiln is cūḷa in Malayalam and cūḷai and culḷai in Tamil. Is there any connection between these words and Skt. *culli* (=a fire-place)? They can very well be derived from the Tamil-Malayalam root *cuṭ*=to be hot, or to bake.

T. K. Joseph

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Notes on Asoka Rescripts

Duāhale hi... ..... atileke (Dhauli and Jaugaḍa Sep. R.E.1).—This is a very difficult passage and has hitherto defied explanation. The full text occurs in Hultzsch's *Inscriptions of Asoka* as follows:

P. 94. *Dhau*:—duā[ha]le hi i[ma]sa kaṃm[asa] m[e] kute man[o]-atileke—(l. 16).

P. 113. *Jau*:—du[ā]hale etasa [kaṃ]masa sa me k[u]t[e ma]n[o-ati]le[ke]—(l. 8).

Hultzsch has admitted the difficulty of the passage (p. 96 n. 13) and followed Franke and clumsily rendered it: "For how (could my mind be pleased if one badly fulfils this duty?" He has taken *duāhale* as a nominative absolute and, without justification, twisted the expression "*kute.....atileke*" to impart the sense "How could my mind be pleased", with no clear evidence adduced of a similar use of *atileke* either in the Aśoka rescripts or in literature. Indeed, the whole expression has been so loosely tried to be understood by scholars that the sense of the passage, has, at times, become mercilessly free. For instance, compare the rendering of Professor D. R. Bhandarkar (*Aśoka*, p. 324): "This duty (imposed) by me has thus a *two-fold consequence* ('duāhale'). Why *any doubt in your mind* ('mane atileke')."

I think that the difficulty has been due to a rather careless reading of the Jaugaḍa text (which contains the clue), ignoring the tiny little thing *sa* after *kaṃmasa*, perhaps as a faulty repetition of the scribe, which certainly it is not. If we make use of this *sa*, joining it to the next letter *me*, and read—*duāhale etasa kaṃmasa same*, the result we obtain is striking. For if one knows the relation between the terms *sama* ('like,' 'equal,' 'parallel') and *atireka* ('greater,' 'better,' 'more') in Pāli phraseology, the whole passage—*duāhale.....atileke*—at once becomes easy of interpretation. There is a very interesting expression in the *Theragāthā*, p. 45 (first line of verse 424), which reads:

"Nāttano *samakaṃ* kañci *atirekaṃ* ca maññisaṃ".

It means 'none would I regard as my *equal* or *superior*.' Now, the terms *same* and *atileke* of the inscription offer the same sense as do the italicized words in the Pāli quotation, and they forthwith suggest the following construction:—

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1 Etasa kammasa same duāhale—the like of this duty is difficult to find.

2 Kute man[-]atileke—not to speak of a better.

What Aśoka means is that the course of conduct he is recommending to the Nagalaviyohālaka-mahāmātras of Tosalī and Samāpā for the good governance of his subjects is *the best* that one can think of or take upon oneself and that there can be *no better*. In the same strain does he speak in other edicts too. Compare:

(a) Esa hi *seṭhe kaṃme* yā dhaṃmānusāsanā—(Dhau. R.E. IV.1. 6) and (b) Nathi hi *kaṃmatalā* savalokahitena—(Jau. R.E. VI. 1. 5).

To complete the interpretation, a word is perhaps necessary about *duāhale* and *man*[-].

It is evident from what has been said above that there is no necessity for explaining *duāhale* as a nominative absolute, as Hultzsch has done. The word is a complementary adjective to *same*, and in respect of grammatical form it is on a par with such terms as *dukale* (Dhau. R.E. V) and *dupaṭivekhe* (P.E. III), the hiatus remaining as in *mahāapāye* (Dhau. Sep. I. 1. 15) and *pasu-opagāni* (Dhau. and Jau. R.E. II). It goes back to ā+hṛ, 'to fetch,' 'to procure,' 'to bring upon oneself' [cf. Sk. ud+ā+hṛ, 'to cite a parallel', and Pāli atītam āhari, 'he related (lit. 'conveyed') the past']. Hence, by extension *duāhale*='difficult to find.'

As regards *man*[-], occurring after *kute*, I almost felt tempted to explain it as a counterpart of Pāli *pana* occurring in such idiomatic expressions as (1) "Nābhijānāmi sāmikaṃ manasā pi aticarittā, *kuto pana* kāyena" (Aṅguttara IV. p. 66.—'I am not aware of having transgressed my husband even in my thoughts, much less with the body'); and (2) "*Kuto vā pana tassa* uttaritaraṃ" ('How, indeed, can there be a greater?—Childers, s.v. *kuto*). Although this latter quotation offers a close parallel to our *kute man*[-] *atileke*, I refrain from equating *man*[-] with *pana* for the simple reason that *pana* is not used here, although it is known to Aśokan Māgadhī, e.g. at Dhau. R.E. VI. 5 and Jau. R.E. VI. 5. Moreover, the change of *p* into *m* is not yet met with in the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa rescripts, although the opposite process is noticeable, e.g. in *aphe*, *tuphe* (=Prākṛit *amhe*, *tumhe*) in Sep. R.E. I and II.—In the circumstance of the final *o* of *man*[*o*] being problema-

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tical, let me try and examine the reading *mane* given in Bhandarkar and Majumdar's *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 85. The term *mane* would admit of a twofold explanation:

(1) *mane=manye*, 'methinks'. For the correspondence *n=ny*, one will have to refer to Kālsi R.E. X 27, where occurs the word *manati*, at the same time not ignoring the fact that such a correspondence cannot be fully established from Dhauli or Jaugada orthography; and

(2) *kute-m-ane*=Sanskrit *kutaḥ anyaḥ*=Pāli *kuto-m-añño*, with *m* as euphonic, preventing the hiatus as in *bhaṭi*[*m-ayesu*] at Dhau. R.E. V. 4. For the correspondence *n=ny*, one will have to look, though not very confidently, to the end of P.E. III, where occurs a form *iyaṃmana*, which Hultzsch has doubtfully equated with Sk. *idaṃ anyat* (p. 122. n. 5).

It appears that these explanations of *man-* are far from satisfactory. In the alternative, I am driven to the Pāli *manam* (=Sk. *manāk*), 'a little,' 'somewhat,' 'almost' (See P.T.S. Dictionary, s.v.), and read—*kute mana atileke*—with the meaning 'how can there be one, any thing better?'

Thus, the whole passage becomes rightly understood in the following way: 'The like of this duty is, indeed, difficult to find; how can there be one, any the better?'

ŚAILENDRANATH MITRA

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Indra and Pāṇini

M. Srinivasa Iyengar states in his *Tamil Studies* that "One of the *sixty four predecessors* quoted by Pāṇini in the field of grammatical science was *Indra*. He should therefore have flourished before him."[1]

The statement that Indra is one of the sixty-four predecessors quoted by Pāṇini is wrong for the undermentioned reasons. Pāṇini quotes about a dozen predecessors by name in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and Indra is not mentioned among them. The term *Indra* in Pāṇini occurs in such places that it has nothing to do with a grammarian (Vaiyākaraṇa) predecessor or contemporary of Pāṇini. Presumably, the author was misled into thinking that the sūtra: *indre ca*[2] following *avaṅ sphoṭāyanasya*[3] was a reference to the views of another celebrity named Indra. Pāṇini refers to Śākalya (four times), Kāśyapa (twice), Easterners, Northerners, Śākaṭāyana (thrice), Senaka, Āpiśali, Sphoṭāyana, Cākravarman, Gālava (four times), Bhāradvāja, Ācāryāḥ (twice), and Gārgya (thrice). These are some of the historical personages and grammatical celebrities referred to by Pāṇini and their number could not possibly swell up to such a startling figure as *sixty-four*!

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar in his *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* clinches the issue saying that "in the present state of our knowledge, the fact that the Aindra school is nowhere quoted by name either in Pāṇini or *Mahābhāṣya* or *Kāśikā* should point to the conclusion endorsed by Keilhorn that the Aindra school is Post-Pāṇinian in date though pre-Pāṇinian in substance." Anyhow no definite historical value can be attached to the assertion in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* that the school supplanted by Pāṇini was known as the Aindra school and that Kātyāyana was an adherent of the same. Equally unsatisfactory is the alleged evidence of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* which speaks of Indra as the first of grammarians, for, it is clear that the *Saṃhitā* is referring to some mythical deity of the name and not to any historical personage or pioneer in the field of grammar.

B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma

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A Note on Candraprajnapti

Candraprajñapti, an[1] *upāṅga* of *Uvāsagadasāo* which is the 7th *aṅga* of the *Jaina āgamas* is an astronomical work as old as *Sūryaprajñapti*. It consists of 20 chapters known as *Prābhṛtas*[2] (Pr. *Pāhudas*), the same being the case for *Sūryaprajñapti*. Even their extent is the same. Besides these outward points of similarity there are many other important features where these two works agree word for word. This is why Weber and others have been tempted to say that the only difference between them is in their names.

The number of MSS. available for each of these works is by no means small. For instance, at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute there are 4 MSS. of *Candraprajñapti*, out of which one contains the commentary by Śrī Malayagiri Sūri, and one MS. of *Sūryaprajñapti* a work which is already published with Malayagiri Sūri's commentary by the Āgamodaya Samiti.[3] The detailed description of these along with other Jaina Mss. at the *B.O.R.I.* will be found in my compilation to be published in the near future by this Institute.

Under these circumstances the following remarks made by Dr. Sukumar Ranjan Das in his article "A short Chronology of Indian Astronomy" (vide *IHQ.*, vol. VII, p. 139) is unacceptable.

"The only work on Jaina astronomy, now available, is *Sūryaprajñapti*. There is however evidence that two more works on Jaina astronomy were written one called *Candraprajñapti* and the other

1 See Prameyaratnamañjuṣā in *Jaina Tattvāprakāśa* published in Jamnālāl Rāmlal Kimati Jain Granthamālā, (p. 211, 4th edition). *Candraprajñapti* is however looked upon as one of the *upāṅgas* of *Nāyādhammakahās* (Jñātādharmakathā) the other being *Sūryapajñapti*, both having 2200 *ślokas* as their extent.

2 This name is applied by the Śvetāmbaras to the divisions of the *Pūrvagata*, a main portion of *Dṛṣṭivāda*, the 12th *aṅga*. The *Digambaras* have however used this word in connection with the non-āgamika works too, e.g. the pāhudas of Śrī Kundakundācārya.

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The number of MSS. available for each of these works is by no means small. For instance, at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute there are 4 MSS. of *Candraprajñapti*, out of which one contains the commentary by Śrī Malayagiri Sūri, and one MS. of *Sūryaprajñapti* a work which is already published with Malayagiri Sūri's commentary by the Āgamodaya Samiti.[3] The detailed description of these along with other Jaina Mss. at the *B.O.R.I.* will be found in my compilation to be published in the near future by this Institute.

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Bhadrabāhavīya Saṃhitā of Bhadrabāhu. These two works are mainly known from quotations by later astronomers."

Equally erroneous and therefore more surprizing is his observation made in the article[4] "The Jaina School of Astronomy" (*IHQ.*, vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 36), where he repeats the same mistake by saying that "The only work on Jaina Astronomy available at present is the *Sūryaprajñapti*."

It may be added that *Candraprajñapti* is according to the *Digambaras* one of the five parikramas forming a part of *Dṛṣṭivāda*, the 12th aṅga, the remaining four being *Sūryaprajñapti*, *Jambūdvīpa-prajñapti*, *Dvīpa-sāgaraprajñapti* and *Vyākhyāprajñapti*. According to the *Digambara* tradition, all ancient works are lost. Consequently *Candraprajñapti* is in no way an exception to it.

Since Dr. S. R. Das considers the printed edition of *Sūryaprajñapti* as the fundamental work on the Jaina astronomy, I am sure he does not allude to the *Candraprajñāpti* of the *Digambara* school, while making the remarks mentioned above.

HIRALAL R. KAPADIA

4 This contains a description of Jain cosmography, also. It may be mentioned *en passant* that in the following article viz. "Some cosmological ideas of the Jainas" by Mr. Amulya Chandra Sen (p. 44), the cosmological description is given according to the *Digambara* stand-point, a fact likely to escape the notice of a casual reader unaware of the *Śvetāmbara* tenets, when he finds the cosmical works of the Śvetāmbara cited in the beginning as giving full description of this subject.

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REVIEWS

THE BRAHMANICAL GODS IN BURMA by Nihar Ranjan Ray, M.A., P.R.S. Calcutta University, 1932, 99 pp. 23 plates.

We have often been told that there was a close cultural contact between India and Burma, but few have so far taken the trouble to point out the exact lines on which it took place. The author says truly that the cultural connection of India with Indo-China has received more attention than that of India with Burma. It is due to the apathy of scholars, Indian and Burmese, who are just realising the importance of a stock-taking of Indian as well as Greater Indian culture. The brochure is the first of its kind written by an Indian scholar and we can well say that he has performed his task creditably. The account of the remnants of brahmanical images and temples found by the author in Burma, and the few inscriptions pubilshed in the *Ep. Birmanica*, also brought together in this brochure, show quite clearly that Burma, inspite of its strong Buddhistic bias could not shut out the brahmanical rituals and ceremonies, which carried in their train the brahmanical gods. The reason for the adoption of brahmanic rituals and worship is that Buddhism was originally meant only for the ascetics and not for the house-holders, and hence in its code, no provision was made for satisfying the religious cravings of the common folk. Later on, when Buddhism was embraced by the ascetically minded people and the house-holders alike, it developed a few devotional aspects, but still it could not incorporate rituals and ceremonies. But the common folk could not do without them. It was this tendency that drew the brahmanical gods and priests to the land of non-brahmanas. In Indo-China and some other countries the new religious element found a congenial soil, but in Burma, the brahmanical gods and beliefs remained separate, and could not be thoroughly assimilated.

The author has brought together with illustrations all the information regarding the brahmanical images of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, etc. and has stated their present locations. The period assigned

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to these images is from the 7th to the 14th century A.D. In the last chapter, the author has entered into an examination of the various images from the artistic standpoint and has drawn his conclusions about the nature of the influences exercised by Indian art over the brahmanical images discovered in Burma. He considers the Arakan images of Devī and Sūrya to be the earliest containing features usually found in Gupta sculptures, while the Viṣṇu-Lakṣmī slab from Hmawza shows the influence of the Pallava School of art. Most of these images, the author thinks, were executed by Indian artists who had come over to Burma, or by Burmese artists trained by the Indian masters. The Śiva-Pārvatī relief discovered at Thatoñ is, in the author's opinion, one of the best exampes of mediæval relief sculptures in India and Burma. In it he traces the influence of the Orissan art of the 9th and 10th centuries. The Nat-hlaung temple, the only ancient brahmanic temple in Burma, was, according to the writer, built by the South-Indian brāhmaṇas. In the images of the temple, however, e.g. in those of Kalkī, Sūrya, Rāmacandra and Paraśurāma the influence of the Eastern School of Art of the Pālas and Senas of Bengal and Behar of the 9-12th century has been traced. The artistic details in some of the images in the plates seem, however, to be scanty and so the author's conclusions as to the influences exercised by the different schools of Indian art upon at least some of the images cannot but be tentative. This however does not detract from the value of the book, which is certainly a successful attempt at elucidating an important aspect of early cultural relations between India and Burma.

N. Dutt

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THE MAHABHARATA, for the first time critically edited by Visnu S. Sukthankar, Ph.D., with the co-operation of various scholars. Adiparvan: Fascicules 5 and 6. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1931.

THE MAHABHARATA, Southern Recension, critically edited by P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon). Vol. I-II, Adiparvan, Parts i and ii; vol. III, Sabhāparvan. Madras 1931-32.

It is a matter of congratulation that the fifth and sixth fascicules of the Poona edition of the *Mahābhārata*, which are under review, present this time a fairly substantial instalment of the text. The edition, of which previous fascicules we had the pleasure of reviewing in this Journal, has already found well-deserved recognition from competent orientalists for its critical method and its judicious treatment of a bewildering mass of manuscript material of different versions and recensions. The conscientious progress is necessarily slow, but it is noteworthy that its worthy editor, Dr. Sukthankar, has been able, with the learned co-operation of a distinguished band of scholars, to present nearly 650 folio pages of printed matter during 1930-32. Considering the enormous difficulties of the task, this is indeed no mean achievement.

Most of the interesting features of the present fascicules have been noticed by the editor in his brief prefatory note. Taking his Kashmirian codex as his chief guide, the editor has been able to distinguish certain striking differences in the Vulgate, the Kashmirian and the Southern recensions; but the question naturally arises whether these passages are to be regarded as accretions in the versions in which they occur, or to be taken as omissions in the versions from which they are missing. There is no strictly objective criterion in the present case to determine the question; and the editor is bound to fall back upon intrinsic evidence, which shows that these passages are utterly useless and serve only to lengthen and weaken the text, from which they are, therefore, to be rejected. It would thus appear that even if manuscript evidence is highly important and indispensable, subjective valuation, regarding intrinsic probability, cannot be entirely excluded in tackling this supremely baffling problem of Indian literary history. All this will indicate the peculiar difficulties which beset the Mahābhārata textual criticism, and the editor's words in this connexion are worth quoting as

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throwing light on this aspect of his task: "I am fully persuaded that with the epic text as preserved in the extant Mahābhārata MSS. we stand at the wrong end of a long chain of successive syntheses of divergent texts carried out in a haphazard fashion through centuries of diaskeuastic activities; and that with the possible exception of the Kaśmīrī version all other versions are indiscriminately conflated. Now it is evident that the genetic method cannot in strictness be applied to conflated MSS.; for in these cases it is extremely difficult to disentangle completely by means of purely objective criteria their intricate mutual interrelationship. The documentary evidence is supremely important but the results arrived at from a consideration of the documentary probability must be further tested in the light of intrinsic probability". That the text was fluid and carelessly guarded, and therefore afforded easy opportunities of interpolation and conflation is clear from the hundreds of variants noted in the splendid critical apparatus which occupies more than half the space of the Poona edition. The editor, therefore, is justified in assuming that on merely documentary evidence no part of the text can be regarded as free from scrutiny from other points of view, which in the present circumstances are equally legitimate.

The object of the Madras edition, which is proposed to be completed in 18 volumes and of which we have here the instalment of the first three volumes, is more modest. It does not aim at giving a reconstructed Ur-text from different and necessarily confusing versions and recensions, but it concerns itself chiefly with producing a critical edition of what is known as the Southern recension of the epic. The Kumbakonam edition, which professed to represent this recension, was really an eclectic one, which included uncritically passages from the Northern and other sources, and was therefore practically useless for critical purposes. This edition, as well as other Telegu and Grantha editions, is at the present time nearly out of print, and the Southern recension is now practically unavailable in print. It is therefore a happy idea to undertake a fresh critical edition of the Southern recension, basing it entirely upon authentic South Indian manuscripts. The present edition of the Ādiparvan utilises five Southern manuscripts, four of which are palm-leaf manuscripts from the Tanjore Palace Library in Grantha and Telegu scripts; while the Sabhāparvan is based on six palm-leaf manus-

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cripts, all of which belong to the South. The edition therefore proposes to give us for the first time a genuine Southern recension of the epic, which will be as valuable for a critical study of the text as the Northern or the Vulgate, and will thus make a distinct contribution to the cause even of the critical edition of Poona.

Among the tests by which the Northern recension of the Ādiparvan is differentiated from the Southern, we find the editor of the Madras edition quoting with approval the remark of Dr. Sukthankar that "the naive Brahma-Gaṇeśa episode in the first chapter is a late Northern intruder." Chiefly on the strength of this remark the editor is of opinion that the omission of the Gaṇeśa episode may be safely taken as a criterion for marking the text as really Southern. This may be true so far as his experience regarding Southern manuscripts goes; but Dr. Sukthankar probably recorded the above opinion before he had an opportunity of examining good Bengal (especially Eastern Bengal) manuscripts. As the episode is also omitted in Bengal manuscripts, this opinion has now to be modified; but Dr. Sukthankar himself has recently pointed out that the Bengal version in many points agrees with his Kashmirian codex. The editor gives us in the second volume a critical introduction regarding the principal features of the Southern recension as revealed by his manuscripts. The text of the Sabhāparvan adopts the division into 72 chapters which is found in the Grantha edition and which agrees with the enumeration of chapters in the Anukramaṇikādhyāya of the Ādiparvan. The text of the Parvan is accompanied by the fairly early commentary of Vādirāja (1st half of the 14th century) which certainly enhances the usefulness of the edition. The volumes are well printed and are of convenient size to handle.

It would not be out of place to remark in this connexion that a similar critical edition of the Bengal recension is greatly to be desired. The Calcutta *editio princeps*, as well as later editions, suffers from the same defect as the Kumbakonam edition, and cannot be regarded as truly representative of the Bengal version. But there is a large mass of good manuscript material in Calcutta, Dacca and elsewhere which would amply justify the undertaking of a critical edition of the Bengal recension, which will be no less interesting and valuable.

S. K. De

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NAÑJARĀJA-YAŚO-BHUṢAṆA of Abhinava Kālidāsa, critically edited with Introduction and Index by Embar Krishnamacharya. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, no. xlvii. Oriental Institute, Baroda 1930. Pp. 47, 270.

NĀṬYA-DARPAṆA of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, with their own commentary, edited with an introduction and indices by G. K. Shrigondekar and L. B. Gandhi. Vol. i. (Same Series, no. xlviii), 1929. Pp. 17, 230.

Of these two publications of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, which are of interest to students of Sanskrit Alaṃkāra, the first is comparatively unimportant. It is indeed a recent work, having been composed about the middle of the 18th century by Narasiṃha Kavi, who arrogates to himself the title of Navīna or Abhinava Kālidāsa. His patron, Nañjarāja, whose name is borne by the title of the work and whose glory it celebrates throughout in its illustrative verses, was a well-known historical figure in the struggle for power in the South during the middle and latter half of the 18th century. Nañjarāja belonged to the royal family of Kalale and became Sarvādhikāriu of Mysore kingdom for twenty years from 1739 A.D. under its nominal ruler Kṛṣṇa-Rāja II. Subsequently in 1772 he was treacherously imprisoned by Haidar Ali, who had taken entire possession of the administration. He died in prison in 1773. The work under review follows generally the manner as well as the matter of Vidyānātha's more well known *Pratāparudra-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa*, which was written with a similar object of panegyrising the prince whose name it bears in a similar way on its title. As an original work on Poetics, the present work possesses little value, either for its treatment or for its subject-matter. It consists of seven Vilāsas, treating respectively, after its prototype, of the characteristics of the Hero, Heorine etc. (I), the general characteristics of a Kāvya (II), Dhvani (III), Rasa (IV), Doṣa and Guṇa (V), Nāṭya (VI), and Alaṃkāra (VII). Excepting some matters of detail, it keeps pretty closely to its model, sometimes even to the extent of employing the same words and sentences.

The *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, which was noticed in some detail by Sylvain Lévi in *Journal Asiatique* in 1923, is a more important and interesting work, being one of the few treatises

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which deal exclusively with the theme of Sanskrit Dramaturgy. The authors were the pupils of the famous Jaina Ācārya and polygrapher Hemacandra and belonged to the 12th century A.D. One of Rāmacandra's dramas, *Nala-vilāsa*, has already been published in the Gaekwad's Series, (1926), but no less than eleven dramatic works of his are cited in the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* itself; and Rāmacandra appears to have emulated his industrious preceptor in the production of a large number of works on a variety of topics. Hemacandra himself in his *Kāvyānuśāsana* gives an incidental but brief account of Dramaturgy and appropriates passages from Abhinavagupta and others, but the present work elaborates the theme further after Bharata, Abhinavagupta and the *Daśarūpaka*. Although the work is edited from a single manuscript (with the help of another which contains only the Kārikās), the editing has been accomplished with care and knowledge. Like the *Daśarūpaka*, the work consists of four chapters called Vivekas, and they deal respectively with the general characteristics of the Nāṭaka and its elements (I), the characteristics of the remaining eleven varieties of the drama (II), the Vṛttis and Rasa (III), the Nāndī, Dhruvā, the different characters and their peculiarities and excellences (IV), with a concluding account of the minor varieties of the drama. The treatment, as we have indicated above, generally follows that of Bharata and the *Daśarūpaka*, but in many places the authors seem to possess independent views and do not hesitate to criticise their predecessors. One of the interesting features of the commentary, however, is the citation of a large number of illustrative passages from more than sixty dramatic works. Some of these works are yet unknown, and some unpublished. Among these are Devī-candragupta of Viśākhadeva, Anaṅgasenā-harinandi (Prakaraṇa) of Śuktivāsakumāra, Abhinava-rāghava of Kṣīrasvāmin, pupil of Bhaṭṭendurāja, Citrotpalā-valambitaka (Prakaraṇa) of Amātya Śaṅkuka, Pārtha-vijaya [of Trilocana], Udātta-rāghava [of Māyurāja], Rāmābhyudaya [of Yaśo-varman], Manoramā-vatsarāja of Bhīmata, Rādhā-vipralambha of Bhejjala, Kauśalikā Nāṭikā of Bhavanutacūḍā, Tāpasa-Vatsarāja [of Anaṅgaharṣa Mātrarāja] and Pratimāniruddha of Vasunāga, son of Bhīmadeva, besides dramas cited without the name of the author, such as Indulekhā (Nāṭikā and Vīthī), Anaṅgavatī Nāṭikā, Jāmadagnya-

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jaya (Vyāyoga), Tripuradāha (Prakaraṇa), Payodhi-mathana, Pāṇḍavānanda, Chalita-rāma, Taraṅgadatta (Prakaraṇa), Māyā-puṣpaka, Kṛtyārāvaṇa, Vidhi-vilasita, Puṣpa-dūṣitaka (Prakaraṇa), Vilakṣaduryodhana, and Bālikā-vañcitaka. There is also a quotation from Svapna-vāsavadatta of Bhāsa, to which Sylvain Lévi has already drawn attention, but which is missing in the Trivandrum play. A Daridracārudatta is also mentioned, but no passage from this drama is cited. The Kundamālā of Vīranāga, wrongly attributed by Ramakrishna Kavi to Diṅnāga, is also cited.

S. K. De

LA FEMME BENGALIE dans la Littérature du Moyen-age, par J. Helen Rowlands, M.A. (Calcutta). Adrien Maisonneuve, Paris, 1930, vi+241 pp.

This interesting work, which embodies the results of the author's studies, both in India and in Europe under distinguished scholars, is a notable contribution to the study of an important phase of social and domestic life of mediaeval Bengal. The work is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the domestic life of the mediaeval Bengali woman, and the titles of the various sections will indicate its fairly comprehensive scope. It treats of Infancy, Betrothal, Marriage, the Relation between the Mother-in-law and the Daughter-in-law, the Effects of Polygamy, the Bad and the Good Wife, Maternity, the Daily Life, Self-immolation and Widowhood, with an interesting but rather brief section on the Nostalgia of the Young Wife. The second part is devoted to an account of the stories of some women well-known in literature and folklore, such as those of Behulā, Khullanā, Mayanāmatī, Samulā, Candrābatī etc. There is a bibliography, as well as a note on the sources, and an Index. The treatment is more descriptive than historical, and the work, with its unpretentious but well-informed and lucid exposition, will appeal to a wider public than the merely critical scholar. Not only literary sources but also folk-tales, legends, songs and Vrata-kathās are fully utilised, and the subjects are illustrated amply by original quotations and translations. One may, however, wonder if the modern Vrata-kathās and modern collections of songs and legends,

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on which a greater reliance appears to have been placed, can be regarded as authentic historical sources of the social life of mediaeval Bengal. But even if this fact somewhat impairs the strict historical or critical value of the work, its interest and importance from the point of view of ethnology and sociology cannot be denied. As a matter of fact, the work limits itself chiefly to the domestic and social aspects of woman's life in mediaeval Bengal and leaves aside larger issues; but within these limits it is written from direct knowledge and in a simple and graphic style. The translations and references are fairly accurate and well informed, but here and there slight errors have crept in, such as one finds on p. 49, footnote 2, where the name cited should be Cāru or Cārucandra, and not Cārudās. Nevertheless, there is evidence of extensive and careful reading, as well as of wise selection of materials and quotations. The value of the work, however, depends not so much upon its scholarship or on its painstaking collection of materials, as upon the womanly sympathy, understanding and insight with which a perennially interesting subject is ably treated.

S. K. De

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA DAFTAR: No. 1 *Letters and Despatches relating to the Battle of Udgir*, pp. 60, price as. 13. No. 2 *Letters and Despatches relating to the Battle of Panipat* 1747-1761, pp. 173, price Rs. 2/3. No 3 *Shahu's Campaign against the Sidis of Janjira*, 1733-1736, pp. 173, price Rs. 2/1. No. 4 *Reports about Anandibai*, September 1786—October 1788, pp. 91, price Re. 1/-. No. 5 *The League of the Barbhai's*, pp. 89, price Re. 1/- Government Central Press, Bombay.

The Peshwa Daftar at Poona has long been regarded as a rich store house jealously guarded by the Government of Bombay like the dragon of our nursery tales and many a student of Maratha history has often cast longing looks at the forbidden place. The dragon, however, had its accommodating moods, and years ago the late Rao Bahadur Ganesh Chimnaji Vad was permitted to select numerous extracts from these closely guarded records with a view to publication.

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Vad did not live to see his *Selections from the Satara Rajas and the Peshwas' Diaries* appear in print. They were published after his death by the Deccan Vernacular Translation Society of Poona with the permission of the Government of Bombay under the editorship of D. B. Parasnis, K. B. Marathe and B. P. Joshi between 1906 and 1911, while four more volumes of similar *Selections* were brought out by P. V. Mawjee and D. B. Parasnis. These were afterwards supplemented by further instalments in the now defunct *Itihās Saṅgraha* edited by the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis.

Then came a long pause and the dragon once more resumed its close vigilance. Meanwhile public opinion became more and more insistent and the Historical Record Commission succeeded in convincing the watchful guardian of the ancient records that inquisitive students were after all not so harmful to these mouldering papers as less conspicuous worms and the former may be profitably employed to check the depredations of the latter. It was extremely lucky that the Bombay authorities ultimately yielded to enlightened criticism and decided to take G. S. Sardesai and a few of his nominees into their confidence. The result of their labour is now before us in the shape of a fresh series of *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, and we propose to review here the first five volumes.

It is needless to say that these six hundred pages of printed records are not only extremely interesting reading but they considerably add to our knowledge of the period with which they deal. In their general arrangement Sardesai's *Selections* form an improvement on their predecessors. While Vad tried to classify his records according to the Peshwa with whom they were associated, Sardesai prefers to bring all records bearing on a particular topic together. He further furnishes the reader with general hints about the importance, and nature of the records in the shape of a neat little introduction in English. Each volume is illustrated with a photographic reproduction of one of the important papers and a sketch map is added to help the reader to follow intelligently the movements of the Maratha forces and their opponents. Obsolete words are explained in simple Marathi in foot-notes and each document is followed by a brief explanatory note in English. The printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired and

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the Government Central Press, Bombay, is to be congratulated on the excellence of its production.

The first three volumes deal with three very important campaigns and illustrate the main causes of the downfall of the Maratha empire. The disaster of Panipat must not be treated as an isolated event and to understand the real reason for the Maratha debacle the student must carefully study the earlier campaigns of Janjira (vol. 3) and Udgir (vol. 1). As Sardesai says, the papers published in vol. 1 of his *Selections* "may be likened to telephone messages passing between the various commanders in a modern campaign" and "will enable the students of history to follow the operations of diplomacy and warfare in a manner which is hardly possible in the case of other famous campaigns". We further learn that while the Peshwa's force was moving towards Udgir, the ruler of Nagpur was engaged in a fratricidal strife and could not or would not take any important part in this important campaign. The second volume proves beyond doubt the superior ability of Ahmed Shah Abdali over his Brahman adversary both as a general and as a statesman. We find it difficult to agree with Sardesai, who, we believe, is responsible for the general introduction, that the same policy was pursued by Baji Rao I and his son Balaji. Both of them were undoubtedly ambitious imperialists, but while Baji Rao wisely cultivated the friendship of the Rajput chiefs, Balaji underestimated or totally ignored the value and utility of a mighty Hindu alliance. While the Maratha diplomatists tried to win the Muslim ruler of Oudh over to their side till the last moment and even counted upon the possibility of a friendly understanding with Najib Khan, they deliberately assumed an attitude of revenge and retaliation towards the Hindu chieftains of Rajputana. If the Rohillas could settle their differences with the Nawab Vizier of Oudh it is futile to suggest that the gulf between the Rajputs and the Marathas were too wide to be bridged. The fact is that the Maratha Chiefs were in the first place disunited among themselves, they were not always amenable to discipline and the central government frequently found it difficult to make them work a common plan in a harmonius way. Moreover the Maratha government was confronted with financial difficulties of an unprecedented character. The price of agricultural products had suddenly depreciated, reve-

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nue collection was unusually poor and the bankers were reluctant to advance loans while the state had no reserve fund to fall back upon. The strength and resources of the Muslim alliance had from the very beginning been foolishly underestimated, so that the Peshwa was celebrating fresh marriages while his presence in the north was urgently necessary. A careful examination of the documents published in vol. III leads to the same conclusion. The Siddis were no match for the great Maratha empire, yet the campaign failed in its main objective because the Maratha force lacked unity of command. Sekhoji hit the nail on the head when he wrote to Baji Rao "Unless the sole charge of the campaign is given to one single commander with full control, you will be unsuccessful." We fail to understand why Sardesai holds that Anjanvel was captured by the Marathas during this campaign. We do not find any evidence in support of this assertion anywhere in this volume while unpublished English records in the India Office leave no doubt that Anjanvel did not come into Maratha possession till the days of Tulaji Angria. The reports about Anandibai shows how badly she was treated by ministers in power. The restraints on her were naturally irksome and were probably enhanced by overjealous minions. Even sweets sent by a well-wisher from Surat would not be delivered to the widow of Raghunath Rao until the ministers at Poona signified their consent. The education of young Baji Rao was sadly neglected and his inveterate hatred for Nana may very well be understood when we learn what humiliations the future Peshwa and his mother had experienced when they were under the tutelage of the crafty minister. Volume V throws new light upon the early history of the civil war that followed the murder of young Narayan Rao. It is now definitely established that the league was organised by Sakharam Bapu and its military head was Trimbak Rao Pethe. Those who condemn Raghunath Rao for making alliances with the English of Bombay and Haidar Ali of Mysore should note how his adversaries relied for the success of their project upon the support of another inveterate enemy of their empire, the Muslim ruler of Haiderabad.

It is not in a spirit of carping criticism that we make bold to point out here a few blemishes of this otherwise excellent publication. We beg to suggest that the English note in the

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future volumes may either be made more elaborate or in the alternative be altogether omitted. As they are, they are superfluous to those who know Marathi; to those, who do not, they convey little or no information. In this respect, the English summary in Vad's volumes, inaccurate as they sometimes are, are more useful to non-Marathi knowing students. Obsolete and unfamiliar words have been sometimes left unexplained, while in a few cases the synonyms in the foot-note are, in our opinion, inaccurate. We will quote here a few instances from vol. II alone: "Kambes in p. 9 does not mean "mukrar" but "Javarjavar" (more or less) as in p. 67; "Vijārat" on p. 21 signifies the office of Vazir or Vizier and has nothing to do with "Maktedari"; "Khanajad" is an expression of Persian extraction and means a person born in the house; "namra-sevak" being a farfetched explanation of the term. It may also be noted that while "Sajāvali" ultimately means "tagādā" its immediate meaning is the office of "Sajāval". We also think that "uḍeśācyā mārge" on p. 15 indicates "by Orissa route" or "through Orissa" and not by the route of Orchha as one would gather from the foot-note.

It may be reasonably suggested that the Portuguese officer "Laddin" mentioned in Letter, no. 46, p. 42, vol. 3, may be identified with Antonio Cardim Froes. As we pointed out elsewhere, (*Military System of the Marathas*, p. 215). "The Viceroy of Goa sent Antonio Caridm Froes with two ships to Janjira, ostensibly to mediate between the two combatants, but really to help the Sidi openly, should such assistance be absolutely necessary." This officer is sometimes mentioned as Antonio Cardim and Laddin may very well be a misreading for Cardim, "K" and "La" in *modi* being almost similar.

It will not be out of place to remind the Government of Bombay, who have at length awakened to their sense of responsibility, that preservation of old records is far more necessary than their publication, and as the records of the Peshwa Daftar have already suffered from ravages of time it is urgently needed that something should be immediately done to prevent further injury. All students of Maratha history will ever remain grateful to Mr. G. S. Sardesai for undertaking this labour of love at an advanced age when most people retire from active life and seek the repose and rest which Mr. Sardesai, at least, has richly earned.

SURENDRA NATH SEN

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HARAPRASAD SAMVARDHAN LEKHAMALA, vol. I, edited by Dr. Narendra Nath Law and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Sāhitya Parisat Series 80, published from the Bangiya Sāhitya Parisat, 243/1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, 1338 B.S.

This is a collection of essays in Bengali by various scholars prepared and published under the auspices of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parisat for commemorating the occasion of the attainment of the 75th year by the veteran Indologist of Bengal, Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī.

The essays cover almost the entire field of Indology—Epigraphy, Old Sanskrit and Bengali Literature, Ancient Indian Tantricism and Buddhism—subjects that were favourite to him and most of which received attention at his hands through his innumerable papers written in the course of his life-long literary activities.

In all, fourteen papers have been included in this volume. In the first paper Mr. Hirendra Nath Datta refers to the time of initiation at the Varsasatra as given in the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (VII, 4.8), and from a reference therein to the rainy season (*sāmmeghya*) he concludes that the conditions there mentioned might have been possible about 4400 years ago. The date of composition of the *Taittirīya Samhitā* also should therefore be placed, according to him, near about that time.

Mr. O. C. Ganguli has described in details a work on the art of dancing the *Nartana-nirnaya* composed by Pundarika Vitthala of the court of Akbar. The work shows how Persian elements had been included in this art of the Hindus at the time.

In *Vaidik Sāhitye Prānir Kathā* Dr. Ekendranath Ghose has given a very illuminating and almost exhaustive description of animals mentioned in the different parts of the vast Vedic literature.

In this paper on *Antiquity and authenticity of the Tantras* Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti has adduced proofs to show the universal character and primitative nature of the Tantras, rites or their analogues. He has also made an attempt to trace Tantric practices or rather their prototypes to the Vedic period. An interesting description of the controversy among different Tantric Sects with regard to the authenticity and authoritativeness of particular sections of the Tantras has added to the importance of the paper.

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Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee in his paper on the *Cosmogony in Dharmamaṅgala and Antiquity of the deity Dharma* has tried to throw some new light on this well-known topic. He has tried to show that the Cosmogony as found in the *Dharmamaṅgala* literature has also agreement with that in the Nāsadīya hymn of the *Ṛg-veda* and that the deity can be traced in different parts of the Vedic literature. His theory, therefore, goes against that of the Buddhist Origin of the Dharma Cult.

In his *Dhanurveda* Rai Bahadur Jogesh Chandra Rai has given a detailed account of the *Dhanurveda* Section of *Agnipurāṇa* as also of Dhanurveda Saṃhitā attributed to Vaśiṣṭha adding a note on some of the weapons used in ancient India.

Dr. D. C. Sen in his *Rural Ballads of Bengal* has discussed the poetry, ideal and historical importance of these ballads some of which have been published by the University of Calcutta.

In his *Adbhut Tāmraśāsan* Mm. Padmanath Bhattacharyya gives a summary of a copper-plate grant made by Indrapāla of Assam in his 21st regnal year. A very interesting feature of this grant which constitutes its strangeness is the mention of thirty-two epithets of the king made at the end of the grant after the formal part has been finished.

Mr. Sukumar Sen in his account of the two *Mahākāvyas* of Aśvaghoṣa, e.g., *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda* has drawn particular attention to the linguistic and metrical peculiarities of these works.

In *Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa or antiquity of Katmandu* Dr. P. C. Bagchi points to a reference to the name in a manuscript of 1411 A.D. And this goes to prove the untrustworthiness of the tradition according to which the name came into existence by the end of the 16th century in the reign of Lakṣmīnarasiṃhadeva.

In *Mahāyānaviṃśaka* a sanskrit reconstruction of the work of that name from its Chinese and Tibetan translations has been given by Paṇḍit Vidhuśekhar Śāstrī together with Bengali translation and elaborate critical notes.

In a long paper entitled *Buddhāvatār Rāmānanda Ghoṣ* etc. Mr. Nagendra Nath Vasu refers to the continuance of Buddhism in Eastern India in a disguised form and from long extracts (with Vaiṣṇavite, Buddhist and Śākta tinge) quoted from Rāmānanda's *Rāmlīlā* in

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Bengali he seeks to establish that Rāmānanda (17th century) was a Tāntric Buddhist. He also describes in detail the Buddhist upheaval in Orissa as late as the end of the 19th century under 'Bhīmbhoi.'

Paṇḍit Pañcānan Tarkaratna in a neat little paper shows that the auspicious sign used in Eastern Bengal before beginning to write the consonantal alphabet and known in some parts as *Āñjī* is nothing but a symbolical representation of 'Kuṇḍalinī' in her *Madhyamā* form which symbolises sound.

On the whole the work is a scholarly production of a high order. We commend it to the notice of scholars having any knowledge of Bengali.

R. N. Seal

A STUDY IN THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF ANCIENT INDIA, by Dr. Pran Nath Vidyālaṃkāra, PH.D. (Vienna), D.SC. (London). Published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1929.

The present work comes before us with the weight of high authority. The author who is a Professor of Economics in the Hindu University, Benares, won the PH.D. degree of the Vienna University by his previous publication *Tausch und Geld in Altindien*. His present work has secured for him the D.SC. degree of the London University and has been accepted for publication in the well-known series of monographs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. It therefore deserves the attentive consideration of all serious students interested in the subject.

During the last few years has appeared a number of works professing to deal with the 'Economic History of Ancient India' whose high promise serves only to bring out the poor quality of the performance. Dr. Pran Nath has not succumbed to the prevailing temptation. He very wisely concentrates his attention upon certain fundamental aspects of his problem—witness the significant title of his work *A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India*. Within his limits he brings together a considerable amount of learning drawn from the most varied sources and he derives his conclusions therefrom by closely reasoned arguments. As such his work is the first serious attempt to investigate the difficult sub-

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ject of economic conditions in ancient India. Credit is also due to the author for the strikingly original way in which he explains numerous technical terms and the care with which he has prepared a number of statistical and other tables.

On a number of points, however, it is permissible to differ from the author. A radical defect of the author which deprives his book of much of its scientific value is that he systematically ignores the limiting conditions of time and place in passing his judgments. Had he borne these points in mind he would not have fallen into the error of indulging in such generalizations as the following:—

> "The social and administrative organization in ancient India was similar in more respects than one to the feudal system of mediæval Europe" (p. 2);
>
> "In the ancient fabric of Indian society there was no separate group comprising the middle classes as this expression is ordinarily understood in English" (p. 123);
>
> "The whole of India was under the grip of powerful families of nobles" (p. 128).

As we shall presently see, some of these sweeping statements are contradicted by the author himself in other parts of his work, though he does not seem to be aware of his inconsistency. Coming to another point we have to state that the author's interpretations of technical terms, however striking they may be, are more often ingenious than convincing. To this we must add that the statistical figures laboriously prepared by the author are frequently based upon no surer data than those furnished by the *Jātakas*, the Epics and similar works. Finally it must be admitted that the work contains a large number of inaccuracies, which is much to be regretted in a work of this type. These remarks will now be sought to be justified by reference to concrete facts:

P. 14 *n.* 1 for *Caturāśītir-deśaḥ*, read *Caturaśītir* etc.

P. ,, *n.* 2 for the first *pūrvadeśaḥ* (wrongly repeated twice), read *paścāddeśaḥ*.

P. 15 *n.* 1 for *Valhava*, read *Vahlava*.

PP. 14-15. 'Eighty-four countries'. The list of *deśas* mentioned by

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Vinayacandra (quoted p. 14 n. 1) differs materially from that in *Bārhaspatya-Arthaśāstra* (quoted p. 18 n. 2). The list of *Janapadas* (not *deśas*) in the four great regions which Rājaśekhara mentions in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (quoted p. 15 n.) is not exhaustive, as is indicated by the word *prabhṛti* (which the author ignores altogether) at the end of each group. Nor do the names of *janapadas* in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* correspond to those of *deśas* in the other two works. Thus there is nothing to show that "from the seventh to the eleventh century A.D. ancient India was divided into eighty-four countries" (p. 14). The probability is that there was a conventional list of 84 countries into which some writers tried in different ways to press their lists of names.

P. 20. "The *Bārhaspatya-Arthaśāstra* figures and the *Si-yi-ki* (read *Si-yu-ki*) figures compared." This comparison is not convincing as the author refers Hiuen Tsang's figures arbitrarily to the *Yojana* of 40 to 50 *li* according as it suits his argument.

Pp. 38-39. Total number of *grāmas* in India. The author makes out this total (in round numbers 700,000) by adding the figure of 750,000 "given for Southern India in the inscriptions and landgrants" to the same number for Northern India reached by "a very rough approximation". But the author fails to specify "the inscriptions and landgrants" which furnish his figure for Southern India. Even if these figures were to hold good with respect to a particular period, it is contrary to all canons of criticism to apply them to all the centuries of ancient Indian history. The assumption of the same number of *grāmas* for Northern as for Southern India is unworthy of serious consideration, and consequently the author's estimated total of *grāmas* for all India and the further inferences drawn therefrom are altogether valueless.

P. 40. "One *grāma* or five families of tenants." This is based on a mistranslation of *pañcakula* in the original, which means a specific officer or body of officers and not five families. (See Bühler's remarks in *IA*. XIII, p. 113).

P. 40. n. 1 for *cayam* read *cāyam*.

Ibid *n.* 4 *milatism* is meaningless.

P. 52. "The administration of a *Janapada*". The author mentions

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three classes of servants belonging to three different departments, (1) Military, (2) Revenue, and (3) Police". In view of this elaborate official organization it is impossible to take seriously his generalization (p. 128), namely that "the whole of India was under the grip of powerful families of nobles." (Cf. a similar statement on p. 130).

P. 53. Meaning of *gaṇa*. Except the meaning of democratic (*sic*) government which is odious to the author he is prepared to accept a number of explanations of this term. He explains *gaṇa* as 'a squadron for protection of a quarter of the Janapada' (p. 53), 'a territorial division corresponding to the later *parganā* and *mahal*' (the former term being derived by a wonderful etymology from Sanskrit *para-gaṇah* or *pra-gaṇah*) (p. 55), etc. Evidently then *gaṇa* is here taken for an administrative division ruled by an official. On p. 128 we have a wholly inconsistent explanation of *gaṇa*, viz., 'a federation (*sic*) of powerful ruling families', whence it is sought to prove that 'the whole of India was in the grip of nobles.'

P. 54. "Theories advanced to prove the existence of some democratic form of government in Ancient India." Unhappily for the author and men of his way of thinking the existence of democratic as well as aristocratic forms of government in ancient India is no longer a theory but is a demonstrated truth. Without hoping to convince the author by argument it may be pointed out (a) that *gaṇa* has been taken by previous writers not in the narrow sense of demoratic, but in the wider sense of republican, government, (b) that the *gaṇa-rāyāni* in the same text cannot refer simply to 'some privileged classes of people,' for then the term *rāya* (*rājya*) would be meaningless.

P. 57. 'Collection of revenue'. Here the revenue-collection is said to have been entrusted to "officers called *daśin*, *śatin*, *sahasrādhipati*, *maṇḍala* (*sic*), etc." On p. 160 the author writes without any fear of contradiction, "The share of produce, taxes, fines and other dues were actually collected by *sāmantas* ('estate-owners') and not by the 'king' or ruler of the country (*deśa*), as generally understood hitherto."

P. 59. "The people were evidently not well protected." This astounding statement is made by the author without any limiting

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qualification as regards time and place. If the author had referred to Vincent Smith's *Oxford History of India*, ed. 1919, (pp. 85, 156, 184) he would have found himself directly contradicted by the evidence of Greek, Chinese and Arab witnesses.

P. 59. "In the time of Mahāvīra, Haribhadra Sūri tells us in his Kalpa-sūtra that the people were free from troubles and calamities." Evidently the author thought that Haribhadra Sūri was a first-rate historian whose account of the condition of 'the people' 'in the time of Mahāvīra' could be accepted as a sober fact. Lack of critical spirit could not go further.

P. 117. "Population of the country." The author calculates the total population of ancient India (we are not told at what period) by taking his figures *inter alia* from such sources as the Buddhist books, the *Mahābhārata* and so forth. (p. 117). But none of the sources he quotes, not even the statements of 'the Greek historians' regarding 'the war-strength of eight ancient Indian countries' can be regarded as a statistical gazetteer. The only complete or nearly complete figure for all India, that of the total number of *akṣauhiṇīs* present in the Great War according to the *Mahābhārata* cannot be accepted as authentic until they are proved to be such. His other figures which apply only to parts of Northern India and his method of applying the average to the whole country ignore the likely differences in the material resources between Northern and Southern India.

P. 127. "As far as the Buddhist story-books are concerned, it appears that these estate-owners are called *rājans, rājānakas, amātyas, rājanyakas, sāmantas, maulas, rāyas, gaṇas, gaṇarāyas, bhojas, kulaputras, kṣatriyas, rājaputras, etc.*" If the author had referred to the P. T. S. Dictionary, he would have discovered the differences of meaning of these terms. In the immediately following lines while explaining an Avadānaśataka text he translates *rājā-Mahākapphino* as 'king' Kapphina, but takes *kecid deśā gaṇādhīnāḥ kecid rājādhīnā* to refer to the rule by individual nobles and the rule by territorial groups (*sic*).

P. 132. *Sāmanta* is explained as 'the ruling class.' By similar violence of meaning *pṛthvīpati* is translated on p. 58 as 'landowner.'

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P. 135. *Saṃdhi* is translated as 'agreement made by the class of land-owners with the king.' For the true meaning see Dr. Narendra Nath Law's *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India.*

P. 138. *Kāya* is meaningless. P. 145. For '*century*' read '*centuries.*'

P. 155. "When a king visited a village, poor people had to work hard to supply the provisions demanded by him. Even the nobles and rich inhabitants were not exempt." This is inconsistent with the equally sweeping statement, "The whole of India was under the grip of powerful families" (p. 128).

P. 161. *Apāramparabalivaddagahaṇam.* The author's translation "free from the taking of oxen in succession" makes no meaning.

P. 164. The extract from Hiuen Tsang (Beal's version) is taken to "give a fairly good idea of the economic condition of Ancient India." This extract, as Watters' improved version (which the author systematically ignores) indicates, and as is indeed quite clear from its contents, describes the cities and buildings of India in the 7th century. The really relevant foreign notices give the lie direct to the author's gloomy picture of "the economic condition of ancient India." Cf. Diodorus quoting from Megasthenes (similar accounts in Strabo and Arrian):—"The second caste consists of the husbandmen.....Being exempted from fighting and other public services, they devote the whole of their time to tillage.....The land thus remaining unravaged and producing heavy crops supplies the inhabitants with all that is requisite to make life very enjoyable"; *Fa Hien* (Giles' tr. p. 20) states:—"The people are prosperous and happy"; *Hiuen Tsang* (Watters' tr. I, p. 176):—"Taxation being light, and forced labour being sparingly used, every one keeps to his hereditary occupation."

P. 171. For *Mahārāja-parajaya* read *Moharāja-parājaya.*

Do For *Népal* read *Le Népal.*

Do For *Shrichakrasambhara tantra* read *Śrīcakraśambara tantra* (as correctly stated on p. 16. n.).

It is to be hoped that the above points will be borne in mind by the learned author when the time comes for a new edition of his work.

U. N. Ghoshal

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KALIKAMANGALA of Balarāma Kaviśekhara with a foreword by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasād Śāstrī, M.A., D.Litt., C.I.E., critically edited by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A. Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Series, No. 79, Calcutta, 1931.

In the rich store-house of fables and popular tales met with in Middle Bengali Literature the romantic story of Vidyā and Sundara occupies a prominent position. During the last century of the Christian era this was perhaps the most popular story in Bengali. In course of time much that is filthy and obscene had crept into the description of some of the incidents of the story, which caused it to lose its popularity with people with Western education. As a matter of fact, works dealing with the story were held in contempt and in most cases justly so. Obscenity was invariably associated with the works describing the story of Vidyā and Sundara. In the work of Kaviśekhara however, we have happily an exception to this rule. A pure sentiment of devotion is here found to be pervading the whole work.

An edition of the work, therefore, as brought out by Prof. Chakravarti, will be a relief to all lovers of Middle Bengali Literature, which is by its appearance as it were purged of a stigma sticking to it.

Prof. Chakravarti has had to work under great difficulties as he could get hold of only a single manuscript of the work. He has, however, done well in noting in the footnotes similar or divergent passages from other works dealing with the same story thus bringing together much useful material for a comparative study of the works.

Introductions embodying the fruits of the critical study of the editors of the works concerned are the special features of editors of old texts. Here also we have a learned and long introduction from the pen of the editor. It is a proof of his scholarship and labour, even if there may be minor points here and there in which others may not be in a position to agree with him. He has not only given a critical study of the work regarding its age and language, poetic merits, social and religious condition of the country reflected in it, but also a survey of the entire literature dealing with the same topic. This latter thing is very useful indeed. He has also entered into the questions of the origin of the story as also its relation to the story of the well-known Sanskrit

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poet of Kashmir viz. Bilhaṇa (author of the *Caurapañcāśikā*) with which it agrees so closely.

There are three valuable indexes. In the Word-Index are found certain words which are not generally met with elsewhere in literature. In the case of many words reference has been given to different works where they have been used. The index will therefore be highly useful to students of Philology. The indexes of mythological and geographical names will also be found to be of much use.

BASANTA RAÑJAN ROY

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF MYSORE FOR THE YEAR 1929 and its supplement EXCAVATIONS OF CANDRAVALI. Edited by Mr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt (Lond.), Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, Bangalore in 1931.

The Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Dept. is divided into five parts under the heads, Administrative, Survey of Monuments and Ancient sites, Numismatics, Manuscripts, and Epigraphy. Part I gives a general account of the Administrative business in connection with the Archæological Survey Department of Mysore, and the résumé of the work done for the year. Part II embodies the detailed description of the Jaina and Brahmanical Monuments and Sculptures, erected within the period from the 9th to the 10th century A.D. in eight villages, in the Mysore State. Some of the sculptures offer interesting study. But the paucity of illustrations virtually makes them unattractive. Part III treating with Numismatics is by far the most interesting contribution in the whole report. The section (i) in this chapter deals with Hoysala coins and the section (ii) describes some provincial coins of Vijayanagar. The whole chapter is informative and some of the suggestions given by the author in it evince originality. The discussion on the coin of Hoysala Narasiṃha I (A.D. 1141-1173) may be referred to in this connection. Part IV discourses on three palm leaf manuscripts Dhanavastu, Paradāra Sodara Rāmana Kathe and Jayarekhā. Paradāra Sodara Rāmana Kathe, by Nanjuṇḍa, a writer who flourished in the

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latter part of the sixteenth century A.D., is of great historical value as it narrates the exploits of Rāmanātha, a Karṇāṭaka prince of the 14th century A.D., who fought the invading Moslem armies of Delhi and fell in the defence of his country. Part V. contains the texts and English translations with author's note of one hundred and seventeen Kanarese and Sanskrit inscriptions discovered during the year. The detailed descriptions might not be incorporated in the Annual Report where a short summary would have sufficed. This portion ought to have been published as a separate volume of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*. Of the inscriptions described the Candravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman of the 3rd century A.D. (No. 1) and the Pāṇḍuraṅga-pally grant of Avidheya (No. 117) of the early years of the 6th century A.D. evoke much interest. The second inscription throws a flood of light on the history of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas who held sway over the Deccan prior to the rule of the Cālukyas of Badami.

On the whole the report is a valuable record particularly to those who are engaged in solving the problem of the Early History of the Deccan.

D. C. Ganguly

STONE AND COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF TRAVANCORE WITH PLATES, By A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, B.A., M.R.A.S.; Travancore Archæological Series: Vol. VII, part II, Royal Octavo. 78 pp.

The Archæological Survey Department of the Travancore Government is doing useful work within its limited sphere of activity. A corpus of stone and copper-plate inscriptions of Travancore is gradually being made up, part by part, and the volume under review contains no less than 52 records, all found at and belonging to the village of Puravseri, whose inscriptional name is Puravari Caturvedimaṅgalam which is about a mile to the east of Nagercoil. The village originated as a brāhmaṇa colony in the gift of house sites to eighteen brāhmaṇa families, by Siṅgan-Araṅgan of Paśuṅgulam, sometime before Kollam 336; and a temple formed the nucleus of the village.

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This temple may be identified with the Viṣṇu temple still extant in the village, and which, inspite of its poor architecture, is a structure dating from at least the second half of the 12th century A.D. Since the gift of Siṅgan-Araṅgan had been made, kings and private individuals from time to time made gifts of lands to brāhmaṇas residing in the village.

The inscriptions, though numerically large, are historically of very little importance, and they relate to only few transactions; for, each item of transaction is represented by at least two documents,—one appertaining to the actual gift and the other to the agreement tendered by the tenants who took over the lands for cultivation, promising in return therefore to supply a stipulated quantity of paddy for the temple's requirements.

But of unusual interest is the report of the recent discovery of a bas-relief cross with a Pahlavi inscription at Kaḍamarṛam, a village six miles distant from Mūvāttupuḷa, a taluk-centre in the Kottayan Division. It is undoubtedly an interesting acquisition of linguistic and historical value. This inscription and another written in the self-same Pahlavi character and found at Muttuśiṛa, a village fifteen miles to the north Kottayan, have been deciphered respectively by Sir Dr. J. J. Modi and Mr. B. T. Ankleseria, M.A., of Bombay. The discovery of these the Pahlavi Cross in the Travancore State is likely to prove of very great importance to the history of Christianity in West Coast which goes back at least as early as the 8th or 9th century A.D.

NIHAR RANJAN RAY

I BIBLIOGRAPHIE BOUDDHIQUE, pts. i & ii (Jany. 1928-May 1929 and May 1929-May 1930). Paul Geuthner. Paris 1930.

II CATALOGUE DU FONDS TIBETAIN DE LA BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE by Marcelle Lalou. 110 pp. Paul Geuthner. Paris 1930.

Prof. Jean Przyluski is rendering yeoman's service to the cause of the critical study of Buddhism through the publications of the

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Buddhica Series. Such publications are only possible when the editors, contributors and publishers are actuated by sheer love of culture and scholarship.

The editor of the *Bibliographie Bouddhique* (pts. i & ii) deserves ample credit for his ability to secure the co-operation of scholars of so many nationalities. Buddhism has long become an international subject of study and the studies are being carried on through so many languages that it offers to scholars a very great obstacle by requiring them to be equipped with a knowledge of as many as eight languages viz., English, French, German, Chinese, Japanese, Tibetan, Sanskrit and Pāli, leaving out of account the Dutch, Russian, Mongolian and other languages. It is this difficulty that has been partially overcome by the issues of the *Bibliographie Bouddhique*, giving, as they do, the substance of papers published in the different languages and containing information collected from such varied sources. It holds up before our eyes the great extent to which the scholars of one country have to depend upon those of another for light upon their common subject of study.

The heads selected for the *Bibliographie* are judicious and comprehensive. They are as follows: (1) General. (2) Editions of texts, translations, catalogues, dictionaries, glossaries. (3) Philology and exegesis. (4) History and Spread of Buddhism. (5) Legends, doctrines, philosophy. (6) Discipline and cult. (7) Art, archæologie, epigraphy. We hope Prof. Przyluski will be able to maintain its present high standard by keeping an eye on the reliability of the gists of various publications coming within its purview. The plan of giving a bibliography of all the writings of distinguished scholars like Léon Feer (see pt. ii) will be greatly appreciated by the world of scholars.

The fourth number of the Series, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale* comes from the pen of a scholar who has devoted herself long to the study of Tibetan manuscripts and xylographs, and the whole volume is full of valuable informations. It can well be stated that the authoress has been able to keep up the high standard reached by the preceding volumes through the labours of the distinguished French scholar, the late Monsieur Cordier. The object of the book under review is to give a descriptive list of the uncatalogued manuscripts and xylographs of Buddhist texts in Tibetan translations,

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preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale as also in the Musée Guimet and the Bibliothèque de l'Institut. The chief interest of these manuscripts, as the authoress points out, is that they contain many works not to be found in Kanjur and Tanjur as also a few hitherto unknown Tantric texts. There are, moreover, some texts which are probably extracts from the canon. In the description of every work, the writer gives the Sanskrit and Tibetan titles; the Buddhas or Bodhisattvas invoked; the name of the places, if any, where the sūtra was delivered; the name of the interlocutor, if any; colophon; names of the translators; and the references, if any, to Kanjur and Tanjur. Altogether 205 texts have been touched in this way. The value of the *Catalogue* has been much enhanced by the tables of concordances and the index of Sanskrit and Tibetan titles. Recently, we have had from the pen of Dr. Barnett a Catalogue of the Tibetan texts preserved in the British Musuem (see Asia Major, vol. 7), while in the present volume, we have a list of the hitherto uncatalogued texts preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The work is a valuable contribution to our Tibetan-Buddhist studies, and the writer deserves commendation for the care and industry with which she has accomplished the arduous task.

D. Bhattacharyya

TRIṢAṢTIŚALĀKĀPURUṢACARITRA, vol. I (Ādīśvaracarita) translated into English by Helen M. Johnson. Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. LI. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1931. vii+528 pp. 5 plates.

The volume under review is a running English translation of the first book, *Ādīśvaracaritra*, of the voluminous work of Hemacandra (1088-1172 A.D.) called *Triṣaṣtiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* (Lives of the sixty three famous men) viz. 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, 12 Cakravartins, 9 Vāsudevas, 9 Baladevas and 9 Prativāsudevas. The volume contains an account of the previous lives of the first Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabha and the first Cakravartin Bharata. The interesting feature of this translation as compared with the one published a few years ago by Prof. Banarsi Das Jain is that the translator has all along kept lucid the translation, following the original very closely at the same time. The difficulty that confronts

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the translator of a book of this type is to find suitable English equivalents for technical terms abounding in such a Jaina or Buddhist text. This difficulty has been overcome in this book by relegating the interpretation of such technical terms to the footnotes and the Appendices. By this device, the language of the book denuded of its harshness, is as pleasant as that of a story book. For keeping up the interest of readers, the authoress has deviated from the usual method of following closely the detached verses by breaking up the translation into detached pieces, as has actually been done by Prof. Jain in his translation of the *Jaina Jātakas*. This has made the languages of the translation less halting. Another welcome feature consists in the well-chosen sub-headings which indicate at a glance the subject-matter of the discourse to follow. From the extensive bibliography as also from the learned notes, it is apparent that the translator has taken great pains to keep unimpaired as far as possible the merit of the work which is so often obscured in the English translations of Jaina and Buddhist texts, e.g. in the English translations of Pāli texts made by Mrs. Rhys Davids.

The present work, though a translation, is a veritable *vade mecum* of Jaina religion and philosophy. In the footnotes a number of technical terms has been elucidated. It can thus well serve the purpose of a handbook for the students of Jainism for getting at the meanings of obscure terms occurring in Jaina literature. In Appendices i-iv, the author has dealt with Cosmography, Karma, the fourteen Guṇasthānas, the nine Tattvas, and the qualities of the Pañca-parameṣṭhins. In Appendix vi has been given the list of rare words with their English translations. This will not only enrich our knowledge of the Jaina vocabulary but will also help a great deal in our linguistic studies. The translator's command over the language of the text is evinced by the corrections of the text that she has suggested on pp. 478-493. There are two indexes to the book. The one of names and subjects is replete with information and the other of Sanskrit and Prakrit words is exhaustive and useful. There are also five plates in the book showing the statue of Ṛṣabhanātha deposited in the Lucknow Museum; the Manuṣyaloka; the Lāñchanas of 24 Tirthaṅkaras; the 14 dreams of Ṛṣabha's mother; and the 8 auspicious articles, mirror, śrīvatsa, etc. The only thing that is lacking in the volume under review is a suitable introduction dealing

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with the date, authorship, nature of contents, sources etc. of the main works of Hemacandra and also a short notice of the events of his life. Though Prof. Banarsi Das Jain and other scholars have dealt with it and nothing new remains to be said, yet a reader taking up this book for the first time will feel embarrassed without these requisites. To conclude, we offer our best thanks to the general editor and to H.H. the Maharaja Gækwad of Baroda for the excellent get-up of the book and for the impetus that the Gækwad Series is giving to the study of ancient Indian lore.

N. Dutt

THE BODHISATTVA DOCTRINE IN BUDDHIST SANSKRIT LITERATURE by Har Dayal, xi+392 pp. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd. London 1932.

It is an undeniable fact that Buddhism owes much of its greatness to one of its post-Asokan phases, viz. Mahāyānism. On the one side, it has inspired highly thoughtful books on philosophy, while, on the other, it has given rise to a mass of devotional literature forming the basis of arts and sculptures. It was rather the Mahāyānic ethics and ideals that appealed more to the foreigners and prompted them to embrace Buddhism than the austere outlook on life preached in the Hīnayāna texts. But it is a matter for regret that in both India and Europe, this phase of Buddhism has not received the amount of attention it deserves; in any case, the attention bestowed on it is much less than that received by the earlier phase of Buddhism. The doctrine of Bodhisattva is one of the essentials of Mahāyānism. The book under review presents an elaborate exposition of this doctrine, for the first time, and hence cannot but be welcome to all students of Buddhism. The author has avoided speculations and placed before us, well-arranged, the materials from Buddhist-Sanskrit and Pāli sources along with the European interpretations of technical terms, throwing light on the Bodhisattva doctrine. In the first chapter he dwells on the meaning of Bodhisattva, shows the difference between a Bodhisattva and an Arhat, and enumerates the qualities that a Bodhisattva is to acquire

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for becoming a Buddha. He could however have spared himself the labour of bringing together the different English renderings, however unhappy, of the terms as given by the European and Japanese scholars e.g. the equivalent for Bodhisattva as suggested by Dr. Barnett, viz. "Creature of Enlightenment" (p. 5) and "earnest meiditation" (p. 83) or "mental clearness" (p. 84) as suggested by Mrs. Rhys Davids for "smṛtyupasthānāni", and "intoxicating drugs" by the same scholar for "āsrava" (p. 117). The second and the best chapter in the book is on the "Origin and development of the Bodhisattva doctrine". His treatment of 'bhakti' as found in the Buddhist literature and the evolution of the Bodhisattva doctrine is worth a serious consideration. In the third chapter, the author has explained the terms misunderstood by many like the *Bodhicitta*, *Gotra*, *Adhimukti*, *Praṇidhāna*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Skandhas*, *Bodhisattva-caryā*. The author has taken up in the fourth chapter the arduous task of finding out the exact meaning of the *dharmas* grouped as *Bodhipakṣikaḥ*. The fifth and sixth chapters are devoted to the *Pāramitās* and *Bhūmis* prescribed for Bodhisattvas aspiring to Buddhahood. In the last chapter, the author depicts the life of Gautama Buddha and shows how the Bodhisattva principles are carried out in his life. The notes and references appended to the book are very useful. Every chapter reveals the author's industry. The work will be profitably perused by those readers who seek a reliable guide for going through the Buddhist texts and comprehending the Mahāyānic ideals.

N. Dutt

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, vol. X, pt. iii

STEN KONOW.—*Note on the Buddha's Jālalakṣaṇa.*—The *Jālalakṣaṇa* is interpreted by some scholars as one of the marks of Buddha's greatness, and the *jāla* is explained as a web or a membrane connecting the fingers and toes. Others hold that this conception is due to the misunderstanding of a technical device of the Buddhist sculptors of Gandhāra who left the schist behind as a support to the fingers of the Buddha's image. By a reference to the list of the marks of a superman and their explanations in a Śaka text found in Central Asia, the author of this note comes to the conclusion that "the traditional conception of the *Jālalakṣaṇa* was that of webbed fingers".

Ibid., vol. X, pt. iv

W. CALAND.—*Notes on the Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇa.* Many errors have been pointed out in Keith's translation of the *Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇa* (*Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas*, H. O. S.) and their emendations have been suggested.

J. GONDA.—*Etymologica.* The etymological meanings of the words *lavaṅga*, *laśuna*, *śalākā*, and *marīca* have been discussed here.

A. J. BERNET KEMPERS.—*Note on ancient sculpture from Amarāvatī.* Two scenes from the life of Buddha depicted in the carvings on the base of a mutilated octagonal pillar at Amarāvatī have been interpreted here afresh. After discussing the views of the previous interpreters on the subject viz. Dr. Coomaraswamy and Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, the writer offers his own explanation of the scenes. "The river Nairañjanā", he says, "does not belong to the lower but to the upper scene, which has almost entirely disappeared" leaving the scene too incomplete to allow any interpretation. The lower panel, according to him is "a synoptical rendering of the Cycle of the Great Renunciation, viz. the concert, the sleep of the women, Chandaka entering the room and the Flight",

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Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. VI, pt. iv

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.—*Mahāvīra and Buddha.* Jacobi's view that Mahāvīra outlived Buddha, and that the Nirvāṇa of the latter took place in 484 and that of the former in 477 B.C. is opposed in this article. It is argued that both these dates rest on very unsatisfactory and late evidences. The testimony of the later Jaina tradition recorded in Bhadreśvara's *Kahāvalī* and Hemacandra's *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* pointing to 477 B.C. as the probable date of Mahāvīra's death is denied any value on the ground that the same tradition proves unreliable in regard to the date of the accession of Candragupta. It is further contended that the evidence of the earlier Buddhist texts asserting that Mahāvīra died before Buddha cannot be discredited in the absence of any serious contradiction from other reliable authorities.

TH. STCHERBATSKY.—*The Doctrine of the Buddha.* The author here opposes Keith's opinion that Buddha's teaching has not been correctly preserved in the Pāli canons. The contention that Buddha could not have been the author of a system, which with the complications involved in the denial of soul, and the theory of elements must have been unattractive to the masses and far above the trend of opinion in Buddha's time has been strongly opposed. The general features of Buddhism in the first period of its historical development are given here in the following words: "Denial of a Soul; its replacement by separate Elements, their classification into groups, bases, and components; the law of their dependent origination; their impermanence, their moral unrest produced by ignorance, their purification produced by the element of trancendant knowledge; the mystical powers produced by the element of trance, rebirth in higher realms and paradises; and, after that, Nirvāṇa".

L. V. RAMASWAMI AYYAR.—*Tulu Prose Texts in Two Dialects.*

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.—*Phonetic Notes on Urdu Records Nos.* 6825 *A.K. and* 6826 *A.K.*

.—*Early Hindi and Urdu Poetry no. iv.* This contains pen pictures by Banarsi Das of Jaunpur who wrote his poems during ths first half of the 17th century and also by Mir Ja'far Zaṭalli who wrote a poem on the death of Aurangzeb.

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Eastern Buddhist, vol. VI no. 1 (April, 1932)

DAISETZ TAITARO SUZUKI.—*Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Buddhism, or the Bodhisattva Ideal and the Śrāvaka Ideal as distinguished in the opening Chapter of the Gaṇḍavyūha.*

JOHANNES RAHDER AND SHINRYU SUSA.—*The Gāthās of the Daśabhūmika-sūtra.* With this portion containing 6th-10th Bhūmis, the edition of the Gāthās of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* is completed.

Indian Antiquary, April, 1932

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—*The Nāgar Brāhmaṇs and the Bengal Kāyasthas.* This paper maintaining that the Bengal Kāyasthas were originally the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas of Gujarat, comes to a close with this instalment.

Ibid, May, 1932

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.—*Pañcavāra-vārīyam.* The expression *pañcavāra-vārīyam* often found in the South Indian Inscriptions is interpreted as "the management consisting of representatives of five groups of people".

Ibid., June, 1932

D. R. BHANDARKAR.- *Epigraphic Notes and Questions: The Years called Kṛta, or the Origin of the Vikrama Era.* It is pointed out that the description of Kalki as given in the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparvan, chapters 190-1) suits Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty very well. It is stated there that Kalki will exterminate the Dasyus, perform Aśvamedha, give back the earth to the Brāhmaṇas, and bring in the Kṛta Age. Puṣyamitra checked the spread of Buddhism by re-establishing the Brāhmaṇic religion, performed the horse sacrifice twice, and founded the Brāhmaṇa empire. So the Kṛta Era, an early name for the Saṃvat Era which began with 57 B.C., is believed by Dr. Bhandarkar to have been ushered in by Puṣyamitra. On the strength of a genealogical statement in the Śuṅga inscription of Ayodhyā, he assigns this king to the first century B.C. and thinks that the Kṛta yuga began from the time when the king celebrated

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Aśvame lha for the second time and established his power on a firm footing.

AUREL STEIN.—*Note on a Find of Ancient Jewellery in Yasin.*

Journal Asiatique, 1931

J. PRZYLUSKI.—*Le Bouddhisme Tantrique à Bali* (according to a recent publication). Dr. Bosch has analysed certain Buddhist texts belonging to Bali. In this paper Prof. Przyluski indicated the importance of Dr. Bosch's studies (which being published in Dutch will not be intellgible to many) and adds a few observations of his own. The texts examined by Dr. Bosch are *Sang hyang Nāgabāyusūtra* in Sanskrit and *Kalpabuddha* in old Javanese, which enumerate and describe the five Dhyāni-buddhas, and their *entourage.*

E. TOMAMATSU.—*Sūtrālaṅkāra and Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā.* In order to fix the identity of the Chinese translator of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, Mr. Tomamatsu collects here all the information available from the ancient catalogues of Chinese Buddhist texts, and goes into the question whether the name of the work is really *Sūtrālaṅkāra* or *Mahālaṅkāra.* As the translation of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* is attributed to Kumārajīva he offers a complete list of the works which are looked upon as translations by Kumārajīva and adduces reasons for holding that of the 124 translations attributed to him, 35 can be accepted as authentic, but not the rest, in which he includes the *Sūtrālaṅkāra.* He shows by a critical examination of the translations of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* that it could not have been translated by Kumārajīva or any other person living in the locality to which Kumārajīva belonged. It is the work of an unknown translator, very probably of the 6th century A.D.

As regards the authorship of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, the writer remarks that the tradition ascribing its authorship to Aśvaghoṣa is very old. Then he proceeds to ascertain the date of this Aśvaghoṣa and the time of composition of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra.* The comparison of the 'legend of the Śrāmaṇeras' in the three reductions, *Sūtrālaṅkāra, Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* and *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* is very useful.

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The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. XVIII, pt. ii, (June, 1932)

UMESA MIṢRA.—*Mimāṃsāśāstrasarvasva of Halāyudha.* This instalment of the edition contains the Sanskrit text from the 2nd Adhikaraṇa of the second Adhyāya to the end of the third Adhyāya.

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*The Yaunas of the Purāṇas and the Last Kuṣāṇa Emperor in India.* Fresh evidences have been adduced to prove that the word *Yaunaḥ* mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* represents the Kuṣāṇa title Jauva. The king in whose reign the Khura inscription of the Lahore Museum was inscribed has been identified to be the last Kuṣāṇa emperor of India. His name and titles are given in the inscription as *rājātirāja-mahārāja-Toramāṇa Shāha-Jaubṇaḥ.*

.—*A Passage in Samudra Gupta's Inscription at Allahabad and Gupta Coinage.* The passage containing the *garutmad-aṅka* which is regarded as referring to the Gupta coinage has been given a modified interpretation.

.—*The Kākas—their Location.* The Kākas, mentioned in Samudra Gupta's inscription on the Allahabad pillar are identified to be an autonomous community who lived in Eastern Malwa. A large village called Kākapur situated some 20 miles north of Vilsa is regarded as their ancient seat.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1932

N. K. BHATTASALI.—*Maurya Chronology and Connected Problems.* An attempt has been made to establish a chronology according to which the following dates are reached for some important historical events :

486 B.C. Death of Bimbisāra and accession of Ajātaśatru.

484 B.C. Death of Gośāla, founder of the Ājīvika sect of the Jainas.

473 B.C. Nirvāṇa of Buddha.

468 B.C. Kaivalya of Mahāvīra.

C. 317 B.C. Indian revolt against the Greek authority in the Panjab, under the leadership of Candragupta Maurya.

313 B.C. Coronation of Candragupta Maurya.

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280 B.C. Accession of Bindusāra.
264 B.C. Accession of Aśoka.
260 B.C. Coronation of Aśoka.

GIUSSEPPE TUCCI.—*Two Hymns of the Catuḥstava of Nāgārjuna.* The Sanskrit text of the *stavas* (with the Tibetan translation) containing in a great synthesis the Mahāyāna dogmatics conducive to the supreme realisation of *śūnyatā* has been edited, and traslated into English.

A. A. MACDONELL.—*The Uṣas Hymns of the Ṛg-veda.* From the unfinished draft translation of the *Ṛg-veda* left by the late Prof. Macdonell, the hymns to Uṣas (omitting X, 172) have been published here.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,

XXVI, 1930. no. 1

GIUSEPPI TUCCI.—*Animadversiones Indicæ.*

1 *On Maitreya, the Yogācāra Doctor.* Some new evidences are given here to prove that Maitreya, was an historical person, the *guru* of Asaṅga, and an author of many works.

2 *The first Mention of Tāntrik Schools.* In the *Tattvasiddhiśāstra* of Harivarman (4th century A.D.) and the *Madhyāntānugamaśāstra* of Asaṅga which are preserved only in their Chinese version, there is a mention of a school called *na ya siu mo* representing, according to the writer, either *Nyāya saumya*, or *Nayasaumya* or Nayasauma, the word *Sauma* referring to a Tāntrik sect to be identified with the Kāpālikas, and *Naya* to "a very old section or group of Tantras."

3 *On the Names of Mīnanātha and Matsyendranātha.* These are believed to be the initiation names showing a well-defined stage of holiness.

4 *The Gorakṣasaṃhitā and the Avadhūtagitā.* The *Avadhūtagītā* which is included as a portion of the *Gorakṣa-saṃhitā* (Bengali edition) is here pointed out to have been associated with the name of Dattātreya.

5 *A Sanskrit Work by Siddha Carpaṭi.* A manuscript has been discovered in Nepal containing a small work by Carpaṭi. The work is called *Devamanuṣyastotra* and is a hymn to Avolo-

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kiteśvara. Carpaṭi is known both in India and Tibet as a Siddha, believed to have been the *guru* of Mīnanātha.

6 *A Sanskrit Biography of the Siddhas and some Questions connected with Nāgārjuna.* The paper delineates the contents of the fragment of a manuscript preserved in Nepal containing the lives of Nāgārjuna and some other Siddhas classified according to the āmnāyas or mystical schools.

7 *The Lāmākrama and the Influence of Tibetan-speaking Races on the Tantras.*

C. W. GURNER.—*Development of the Ṛtusaṃhāra Theme in the Rāmāyaṇa.* Passages from the *Rāmāyaṇa* containing descriptions of seasons have been pointed out to show that they have immensely influenced the descriptions of seasons by later writers.

.—*The Psychological Simile in Aśvaghoṣa.*

SUKUMAR SEN.—*The Language of Aśvaghoṣa's Saundaranda Kāvya.*

M. M. CHATTERJI.—*Interpolation in the Brahmasūtram.*

.—*Brāhmaṇism and Caste.* That the influence of caste was confined to the social and political sphere and did not touch spiritual life is the point discussed here.

.—*Monasticism and Brāhmaṇism.* The writer is of opinion that Monasticism has no place in the canonical Brāhmaṇism. He is inclined to believe that monasticism originated among the Buddhists and was subsequently adopted by the Brāhmaṇa revivalists about the 7th century A.C.

.—*The Vedic Divisions.* According to the author, the division of the Veda into Atharva, Yajuḥ, Sāma and Ṛk represents four different stages of the society indicating the great intellectual advance resulting in the search after an Agent from the primitive condition of humanity in which the practice of magic for individual benefit was regarded as invaluable.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSE,—*Was Viśākha Datta a Bengali?*

K. K. BASU.—*The House of Tughlaq.* This account of Sultan Lā 'Azam Abu Muzaffar Sultan Firoz Shah is based on the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*

NILMANI CHAKRAVARTI.—*End of Prasenajit, king of Kośala.*

.—*Ghoṭakamukha a predecessor of Kauṭilya and Vātsyāyana.* Similarity has been pointed out between the views expressed in the Goṭamukhasutta of the *Majjhimanikāya* and those of Ghoṭakamukha quoted in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana. This

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Ghoṭamukha or Ghoṭakamukha has also been identified with Ghoṭakamukha mentioned in the *Kauṭilīya* and has been placed between the 3rd and the 4th century B.C.

S. R. SARMA.—*The Beginnings of Suketri Dynasty.*

BIBHUTI BHUSAN DATTA.—*On the Hindu names for the rectilinear geometrical figures.*

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.—*Some Meteorological Proverbs of the People of Bengal.*

.—*The Cult of Bāro Bhāiyā of Eastern Bengal.* That the cult of Bāro Bhāiyā or Twelve Brothers worshipped in the villages of Eastern Bengal is a form of demon worship is shown by the details of the worship.

NILMANI CHAKRAVARTI.—*An Ancient Indian Story in a Bengali Vratakathā.* It has been shown how an ancient story occurring in the *Rāmāyaṇa* found a place in the *Kharaputta jātaka.* It is also preserved in a narrative relating to the Kojāgarī Lakṣmī-pūjā observed in Bengal in the month of Āśvina.

J. C. DEY.—*Religion and Kingship in ancient times.* Arguments have been put forward to show that the rulers of ancient India generally tolerated the religion of their subjects.

Kölner Vierteljahrshefte für Soziologie XI, i

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.—*Die Struktur des Volkes in der sozialwissenschaftlichen Lehre der Schukranjti.* (The Structure of the people in the Social-scientific Teachings of the *Śukranīti*).

Man in India, July-December, 1931

PANCHANAN MITRA.—*Cultural Affinities between India and Polynesia.*

G. RAMDAS.—*Projas.* This is an account of the Proja tribe of Orissa.

K. RAMA PISHAROTI.—*The Origin of Ornaments.* Some ornaments used by the Hindus have been described here, and their origin has been shown to be associated with magic.

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Nāgaripracāriṇi Patrikā (Hindi) vol. XII, no. 1
(Vaiśākh, Saṃvat 1988)

KAMESVAR GAURISANKAR OJHA.—**इन्दौर म्युजियम का एक शिलालेख** (*A stone-inscription deposited in the Indore Museum*). While describing the sinking of a large well at village Khadawada by a military officer under Sultan Ghiasuddin Khilji in the last quarter of the 16th century A.C., the inscription deals with the general history connected with the Muhammadan Sultans of Malwa.

Philosophical Quarterly, vol. VIII pt. i (April, 1932)

S. K. DAS.—*The Spirit of Indian Philosophy.*

N. VENKTARAMAN.—*Sanātana Dharma or the Moral Life as conformity to Law.* The discussion in the paper has been divided into two sections: concept of Law and Dharma in Indian Philosophy, and the Law of Karma and the Doctrines of Metempsychosis.

Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, (Bengali), vol. XXXIX, no. 1
(Bengali year 1339)

HARAPRASAD SASTRI.—*Puruṣottamadeva.* This paper deals with the literary works of the Buddhist scholar Puruṣottama, who flourished during the reign of Lakṣmaṇa Sena in Bengal. It has been shown that Puruṣottama's *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, which was written as a supplement to the well-known Sanskrit lexicon of Amarasiṃha, contains words that indicate definite alterations and expansions of the religious views and practices of the people of Bengal.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE.—*An Account of the Newspapers of Bengal* (1835-1857).

AMULYADHAN MUKHERJI.—*Basic Principles of Bengali Metre.*

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Press Opinions

Prof. M. Winternitz.—It is full of highly interesting and important matter, and keeps up a high standard of scholarship..... It promises to become a great help to all students of Indian History.

Prof. H. Jacobi.—I have perused your quarterly with great interest .. I may have occasion to contribute to it now and then.

Prof J. Jolly of Germany—I entertain a very high opinion of the Quarterly.

Dr. E. J. Thomas.—The Indian Historical Quarterly has always attracted me as being one of the most interesting Oriental Journals and I realise how much this depends on wise editorship. I think you are doing a great work in helping and stimulating oriental scholarship in India.

Prof. Sylvain Levi.—Congratulate you on the truly 'national' work you are doing for Mother India. Your Quarterly is the best evidence of the wonderful progress accomplished by Indian scholars in these last years, a progress that I followed with a sincere joy.

Dr. Otto Strauss.—I am very well pleased with your Journal and I hope it will be as interesting and successful as the bygone years.

Mm. Dr. H. P. Sastri, Hony. Member. Royal Asiatic Society: The Quarterly is becoming more and more useful, more and more learned. You deserve the thanks of the Indian public by focussing so many eminent writers in your Quarterly ..... I am reading all Oriental Journals, and about India yours is the